

THE
WORLD displayed;
OR, A
CURIOUS COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES and TRAVELS,
Selected from the
WRITERS of all NATIONS.

In which the
CONJECTURES and INTERPOLATIONS
OF

Several vain *Editors* and *Translators*
Are expunged ;

Every Relation is made concise and plain,

A N D.

The Divisions of Countries and Kingdoms
are clearly and distinctly noted.

Illustrated and Embellished with a Variety of MAPS
and PRINTS by the best Hands.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOL. II.

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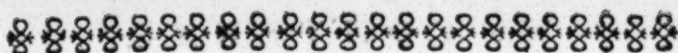
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OF THE
SECOND VOLUME.

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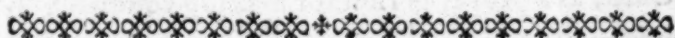
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THE



T H E
Conquest of MEXICO,
B Y
HERNANDO CORTES.



C H A P. I.

Diego de Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, appoints Hernando Cortes Commander in Chief of a Fleet for making new Discoveries. He sails from Cuba, and lands in the Island of Cozumel, where he demolishes the Indian Idols, and meets with a Captive Spaniard.

HERNANDO CORTES was a native of Medelin, a town of Estremadura in Spain, and being educated for a military life, resolved to push his fortune in the *West-Indies*, whither he sailed in the year 1504, with letters of recommendation to Don Nicholas de Obando his kinsman, who was at that time Governor of *Hispaniola*. This gentleman gave him a very kind reception, and admitted him into the number of his friends; but these favours could not divert

divert his inclination to arms, and therefore that island being now possessed by the *Spaniards*, without any opposition from the natives, he desired leave to serve in the island of *Cuba*, where the war was still carried on, and having arrived there, so far distinguished himself, as to obtain the reputation of a valiant soldier and able commander; on which account he was made *Alcade*, or chief magistrate of the town of *St. Jago*, a post generally conferred on those who distinguished themselves in the conquest of those countries. *Cortes* was in this situation when he was recommended to *Diego de Velasquez*, Governor of *Cuba*, as a proper person for making conquests on the Continent; and the Governor giving his approbation, a commission was instantly signed, by which *Cortes* was appointed Captain-general of the fleet, and of the countries he should discover and subdue.

His nomination to this post was greatly resented by all who had flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining it. Mean while *Cortes* employed his own fortune, and all the money he could borrow, in the purchase of provisions, arms, and ammunition, and enlisted soldiers with such expedition and success, that within a few days he had above 300 men in his service; and having equip'd ten small vessels from 80 to 100 tons each, they sailed from the port of *St. Jago de Cuba*, on the 18th of *November* 1518, and coasting along the Island arrived at the port of *La Trinidad*, where he was joined by several persons of distinction who resolved to follow his fortunes. But he had no sooner left *St. Jago*
than

than his enemies prevailed on *Velasquez* to revoke his commission; of which *Cortes* being informed, he consulted his friends and adherents, who declared with great warmth, that they would stand by him to the last extremity. He then took such measures as appeared most proper for removing the jealousy of *Velasquez*, and promoting his own security, and having sent *Pedro de Alverado* with a party of soldiers by land to take care of the horses, and raise recruits in the settlements, he sailed with the fleet for the *Havannah*. But in the night, the *Capitana*, in which *Cortes* embarked, separated from the rest, while the other vessels continued their course to the port of *Havannah*, where the people were kindly received by *Pedro de Barba*, the Governor under *Velasquez*. However, having staid several days, without hearing any news of *Cortes*, they concluded he was lost, and began to deliberate about chusing another commander, but were prevented by his arrival, when he was received with the loud acclamations of his men, and treated with great respect by the Governor.

While he staid in this place, he caused a number of cotton quilts to be made, to defend his people from the darts and arrows of the *Indians*, it being found that these were more useful than coats of mail. He proved his artillery, exercised his soldiers in the use of their fire arms and cross-bows, as well as in the management of their pikes, and taught them to form and file off, in order to make an attack and retreat. But while he was thus employed, a messenger arrived with dispatches to the Governor of *Havannah*, containing express orders to divest
Cortes

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Cortes of his command, and to send him prisoner with a strong guard to *St. Jago*. *Cortes* was highly incensed at *Velasquez's* behaviour, and his endeavouring to ruin an enterprize in which he and his friends had embarked their whole fortunes; he therefore resolved to provide for himself, and to make use of force if it was necessary; he even explained his situation to his soldiers, and they raised such a tumult, that the Governor of *Havannah*, dreading the consequence of their resentment, publicly declared, that he did not intend to execute the orders he had received from *Velasquez*, which he considered as a flagrant act of injustice. This commotion being thus appeased, and a brigantine added to the fleet, *Cortes* divided his men into eleven companies, delivered instructions to his officers, and after a solemn mass, at which all the soldiers assisted, weighed and set sail from *Havannah* on the 10th of *February* 1519.

They had this day a favourable gale, but the sun was no sooner set than a furious storm arose, which damaged the fleet. *Cortes* had before sent *Diego de Ordaz*, whose fidelity he had suspected, to *Guanicanico*, a settlement on the other side of cape *St. Antonio*; and a little before the storm, he sent *Pedro de Alverado* in quest of him, with orders to wait for the fleet at cape *St. Antonio*; but *Pedro* perceiving that the tempest had driven him so far into the gulph as to render it difficult for him to weather cape *St. Antonio*, steered away for the island of *Cozumel*, where upon his landing he found a small town near the coast, which was abandoned by the *Indians*, who had fled at his approach. *Alverado* was a young man

man of an enterprising genius, but of little experience, and imagined that, while he waited for the fleet which was to cast anchor at that island, nothing could so ill become a soldier as inaction, and therefore ordered his men to march, and take a view of the inner part of the island. At a league's distance they came up to another town which was abandoned like the first. Here the soldiers seized some provisions, and in a temple of one of their idols they found many jewels, and some instruments for sacrificing made of gold mixed with copper, which, though of small value, they carried away. However, this expedition was so far from promoting the service in which they were engaged, that it only served to frighten the *Indians*, and to render it more difficult to obtain their friendship and assistance.

The next day *Cortes* arrived with the fleet, having sent another vessel with directions to *Ordaz*, on a supposition that *Alverado* had been prevented by the storm; and though he was glad to find that young Captain safe at *Coxumel*, he publicly reprimanded him for his rashness in marching up and down the island, and dismissed three *Indian* prisoners whom he had taken, after having ordered their effects to be restored, and given them many presents for their Cacique, in token of peace and amity. To prevent any new disputes, he drew down his forces to the sea side, and having encamped them there for three days, he thought fit to make a general review; when it appeared that his whole army amounted to 508 soldiers including their officers, 16 horse, 2 chaplains, and 109 mariners and mechanics. On this occasion

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Cortes made them a speech, in which he endeavoured to inspire them with courage, by the promise of wealth and honour; explained the dangers they must expect to encounter, and in the strongest terms, represented the necessity of a strict obedience and the most perfect unanimity.

He had scarce concluded this speech, when intelligence was brought him, that a considerable number of unarmed *Indians* were approaching in several detached parties, upon which he drew up his men, and commanded them to remain under arms till it was known what was their intention. The *Indians* no sooner came in sight, than they continued for some time without motion; but perceiving that no hostilities were offered, they at length boldly advanced, and mingling with the soldiers, presented them with some refreshments, and continued to behave with great confidence and familiarity.

The next day the principal Cacique of the island came with a numerous retinue to pay a visite to *Cortes*, who received him with great courtesy; and while the conversation was carried on by means of an interpreter, one of the *Indians* was heard to pronounce the word *Castilla*, the meaning of which being demanded by *Cortes*, he was told that the *Indians* said, the *Spaniards* resembled some persons in *Yucatan*, who came from a country called *Castilla*. *Cortes* immediately concluded that these were his countrymen, and resolved to set them at liberty. Upon a more particular enquiry he found that they were in the power of some *Indians* of the highest rank, who resided at *Yucatan*, and that the

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*The meeting between Cortes & the Principal
Cacique and Inhabitants of Cozumel.*

the most certain method of procuring their liberty would be to offer a ransom; for the Cacique informed him that should he have recourse to arms, it would expose them to the hazard of being massacred by their masters. Cortes approved of this advice, and ordered *Diego de Ordaz* to sail to the coast of *Yucatan*, with a letter to the prisoners, and some trifles for their ransom and to stay eight days, in which time some *Indians* appointed by the Cacique for that purpose undertook to return with an answer. In the mean time Cortes marched with the troops in a body about the island, in order to view the country, and keep his men in action, and in this tour, he was accompanied by the Cacique, and a great number of *Indians*, who furnished him with provisions, and exchanged gold for glass beads, which they fancied they could never purchase too dear.

At a small distance from the coast stood the temple of an Idol that was much revered by the *Indians*. It was a square stone building, and no contemptible structure. The Idol which was called *Coxumel*, whence the island received the same name, was in the figure of a man, and had a most horrible aspect. Here a great concourse of people were found listening to a priest who was distinguished by a certain ornament or covering, which scarcely concealed his nakedness, and who seemed to preach with great emphasis. Cortes, shocked at the absurdity of such worship, told the Cacique, that it was impossible for them to continue friends, if he did not renounce his idolatry, and that it was unworthy of a man of sense to pay divine honours

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nours to a deformed image, fitter to frighten children than to be revered by men of understanding. The Cacique replied, that as to religion he left it wholly to the priests, who should, if he pleased, discourse with him upon that subject. This was readily accepted, and one of the priests being sent for, no sooner was informed of the affair in question, than he began with the most hideous outcries to protest against those who should be so audacious as to disturb the worship of their Gods, denouncing the immediate vengeance of Heaven against all who should presume to dishonour this deity, or his habitation. But *Cortes*, without paying any regard to his menaces, immediately ordered all the idols to be broke to pieces, and most of their temples to be demolished. The largest of them, however, he preserved entire, and having caused a neat altar to be erected, had mass said in it by the chaplains and priests, and at his departure charged the Cacique to take the strictest care that every thing was kept in good order, and that no insult was offered to the image of the Blessed Virgin, or to two crosses which he erected in that chapel, and this the *Indian* chief very readily promised.

When the eight days were expired, *Diego de Ordaz* returned from *Yucatan*, without seeing any thing of the *Castillians*, for whom he was sent. *Cortes* therefore set sail with a fair wind; but was obliged to return the same day, on account of one of the ships having sprung a leak.

While this ship was refitting, *Cortes* was told that a canoe was standing directly towards the island, when perceiving that she was full of
armed

armed *Indians*, he ordered *Andrea de Tapia* to get as much as possible under the shelter of the land, and to endeavour to take the canoe. Soon after four men came out of it with only a slight covering about their waists, and with bows and arrows in their hands. *Andrea de Tapia*, as soon as the *Indians* were landed, advanced towards them sword in hand, when three of them seeming afraid, the fourth bid them not fear, and addressing himself to the *Spaniards*, cried aloud in the *Castillian* tongue, *Gentlemen, I am a Christian*. *Tapia* immediately embraced him with equal joy and surprize, and conducted him to *Cortes*, who received him with much affection, while his *Indian* companions couched down on their hams, and laying their bows and arrows on the ground, moistened their right hand with spittle, touched the earth, and then stroaked their breasts next the heart; this being the most respectful ceremony they paid to their Princes. *Cortes* having asked the name of the stranger, he replied that he was called *Jerom de Aguilar*, and was a native of *Eija*. Meat and drink were then set before him, and he was ordered to be cloathed.

The next day *Cortes* inquired how he fell into the hands of the *Indians*, when he replied, that being at *Darien*, he was sent to *Hispaniola* for men and ammunition, but was cast away near *Jamaica*, when he and 20 other persons taking to the boat, after suffering great distresses, reached the shore of *Yucatan*, where they fell into the hands of a *Cacique*, who immediately sacrificed six of them to his idols, and then eat them. That he and some others were shut up in a wooden cage, in order to serve for another

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festival; but breaking out, they, without being discovered, fled over the mountains, till they came into the dominions of another Prince, who was an enemy to him from whom they had fled. That soon after most of his companions died, and he fell into the hands of a master whom he served for several years, and at length acquired such a degree of favour, that he conferred upon him an employment near his person, and honoured him with his confidence. The Cacique his master dying recommended him to his son, under whom he possessed the same office, and afterwards being employed in the wars with the neighbouring Caciques, obtained such reputation, that he became the favourite both of the Prince and people, and therefore on his receiving *Cortes's* letter, he easily obtained his liberty as a reward for his services.



C H A P. II.

Cortes sails from Cozumel, arrives at the River Grijalva, lands in spite of the Indians, takes the town of Tabasco, and obtains a great Victory. He then concludes a Peace with the Indians, and embarks in order to continue his Voyage to Mexico.

THE fleet set sail from *Cozumel* on the 4th of *March* 1519, and reached the river of *Grijalva*, where the civil treatment which the Spaniards had formerly received from the Indians of *Tabasco*, and the gold brought from thence,

thence, were such motives for their landing, as were not to be resisted. Therefore leaving the larger vessels at anchor, *Cortes* embarked all his soldiers on board the smaller, and in the boats, and was beginning to make the best of his way against the current, when he perceived both sides of the river covered with canoes filled with *Indians* in arms, supported by a considerable force on shore. When guessing from the horrible outcries, and gesticulations of the *Indians*, that they intended to oppose him, he sent *Aguilar* to them in a canoe with offers of peace, which being rejected, he resolved to punish them for what he called their presumption, in daring to defend their country. But night approaching, he thought proper to wait till the next day, and in the mean time commanded all the artillery to be brought into the smaller vessels, and his soldiers to put on their quilted coats to secure them from being wounded by the arrows of the enemy.

At day-break, he drew up the vessels in the figure of a half moon, and advancing slowly to the *Indians*, sent *Aguilar* a second time, with proposals of peace, to which they made no answer, but giving the signal for the attack, advanced with great swiftness by the favour of the current, till being near enough to use their arrows, they discharged such a shower of them, both from the canoes and barks on the river, that the *Spaniards* were much embarrassed in their endeavours to cover themselves. However, having received the first charge, they assaulted the *Indians* with such vigour, that the canoes soon left the passage free. The vessels
then

then proceeded up the river without further opposition, and approaching the shore endeavoured to land, but the place being marshy, and covered with brambles, the *Spaniards* were assaulted by a number of *Indians* who lay in ambush. However, *Cortes* drew up his men, and, notwithstanding the prodigious fury of this attack, ranged his soldiers in order of battle in sight of the enemy, whose numbers continually increased. He ordered *Alonzo Davila* to advance with 100 soldiers through the woods, and take possession of the town of *Tabasco*, which was not far from the place of action. *Cortes* then attacked that vast multitude, and notwithstanding his being obliged to fight up to his knees in mud, he put the *Indians* to flight, when instantly discovering the march of *Davila*, they ran to defend the town.

Cortes followed them to *Tabasco*, which he reached before the detachment he had sent thither, and found it fortified with a wall formed of large trunks of trees fixed in the ground like palisadoes, with spaces between for the convenience of shooting arrows. It was of a circular compass, and at the closing of the circle the extremity of one line covered the other, forming a narrow winding street, in which were two or three wooden castles which filled up the passage, and were built for placing centinels. This was then a sufficient fortification against the inhabitants of the new world, who were happily ignorant of the arts of war, and the methods of destruction practised by polite nations.

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The Engagement between the Spaniards & people of Tabasco & their manner of fortifying themselves.

Cortes being joined by *Davila*, whose march had been obstructed by lakes and marshes, gave proper instructions for breaking down the palisadoes, and instantly gave the signal to begin the attack, crying, *My friends, here we must lodge to-night*. The soldiers proceeded with great resolution, and turning aside a shower of arrows with their shields, advanced to the fortification, and discharging their fire-arms and cross-bows through the openings, soon drove the enemy from their posts, and then breaking down a part of the palisadoes entered without difficulty. The *Indians* however made head against the *Spaniards* in the streets, but were embarrassed by their own numbers, and being driven from thence made another vigorous effort in a wide space in the centre of the town; but being again repulsed, fled in great disorder to the woods, whither *Cortes* would not allow his men to pursue them.

The *Indians* had removed their families and effects, and provided for their support by laying in a great stock of provisions. Fourteen or fifteen of the *Spaniards* were wounded, but the loss of the *Indians* was very considerable. The troops lodged that night in the town, in which centinels were posted with as much care and exactness as if an army had been in view; but the next day the country appeared deserted, and there was not an enemy to be seen. *Cortes* however suspected this stillness, and his apprehensions increased, by his being informed that *Melchior* his interpreter, one of the *Indians* taken
by

14. *The CONQUEST of MEXICO,*

by *Cordova*, had deserted that very night, leaving his cloaths hanging on a tree.

Cortes now sent *Pedro de Alverado* and *Francisco de Lugo* with 100 men each by different ways, to view the country, with orders to retire in case they found an army in the field; but the latter, after a little more than an hour's march, fell into an ambuscade, and was so furiously attacked on all sides, that he was obliged to draw up his little battalion into a square, and the number of the enemy increasing, his detachment would certainly have been overpowered, had not *Alverado*, who had been obliged to turn out of his way by meeting a marsh, heard the report of the fire-arms, and hastened to his relief, after his having first detached an *Indian* of *Cuba*, to *Cortes*, to inform him of this event. *Alverado* attacked the *Indians* when *Lugo* was in the greatest distress, his men being quite spent with fatigue, and made his attack with such resolution, that the *Indians* fled in the utmost consternation; but soon after recovering from their surprise, they endeavoured to prevent the retreat of the two captains, who being joined, and having time to take breath, cut their way through a vast multitude of the inhabitants, which resembled the rolling of the sea, when the waves are driven back by the wind. At length *Cortes* appeared at a distance, and being observed by the *Indians*, they dispersed, leaving the *Spaniards* in the possession of the field, eleven of whom were wounded, of which number only two died.

Some prisoners being taken on this occasion, *Cortes* caused them to be examined separately,
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by HERNANDO CORTES. 15

by *Jerom de Aguilar*, when they agreed in declaring that all the Caciques in the neighbouring countries were marching to the assistance of the inhabitants of *Tabasco*, and that the next day a powerful army was to be assembled in order to destroy the *Spaniards* at once. Upon this intelligence *Cortes* called a council, communicated to his captains what he had learned, and desired their advice; representing the weakness of their naked enemies, the ill consequences that would attend their turning their backs upon them, and that this would be such a disgrace, as would prevent all their future conquests. Upon which the officers unanimously agreed, that it was absolutely necessary not to leave the country, till they had reduced the inhabitants.

Cortes now proceeded to make the necessary dispositions for a decisive battle: he ordered the wounded to be carried on board; the horses to be landed; the artillery to be in readiness, and every thing in order by the next morning. At day-break he gave the command of the infantry to *Diego de Ordaz*, when he and the other commanders mounted on horseback, and kept pace with the artillery, which moved very slowly, from the ground's being boggy, till arriving at a place called *Cintla*, about the distance of a league from their quarters, they observed the *Indian* army appear at a distance, and in such numbers, as to cover the country as far as the eye could reach.

It is here proper to describe the *Indian* manner of marching and coming to an engagement, since as the art of war is nearly the same in all the nations of *New Spain*, this will be sufficient

to give the reader some idea of their appearance through the whole of this conquest. Their principal weapons were bows and arrows, the strings of the bows being made of the sinews of beasts, or thongs of deer skins twisted, and their arrows were pointed with fish bones. They had a kind of javelins, which they sometimes threw, and sometimes managed like a pike. They had also long two-handed wooden swords, edged with sharp flints; some of the strongest had clubs pointed with flints, and there were slingers who threw stones with great force and dexterity. Their defensive arms, which were worn by none but commanders and persons of distinction, consisted of coats of quilted cotton, breast-plates, and shields of wood and tortoise-shell adorned with plates and metal. The rest of the people were naked, only their heads were encircled with plumes of feathers to make them appear taller than they really were, and all of them had their faces and bodies painted of various colours in order to strike terror into their enemies. Their warlike instruments were pipes made of large canes, sea-shells, and drums made of the bark of a tree hollowed, which being beaten with a stick afforded a very disagreeable sound. They made their attacks with terrible outcries, with which they thought to intimidate their enemies. Their battalions were formed without order; but they had bodies of reserve to relieve the others when there was occasion, and tho' they were divided into companies commanded by their respective officers, those officers could scarcely govern their men; for when they came to engage, they were animated either by

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rage or fear, and consequently were equally eager to charge and to run away.

Such was the army, or rather inundation of *Indians*, which now poured down upon the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* posted his men under the shelter of a rising ground that covered the rear, and having placed his artillery to the greatest advantage, advanced with his fifteen horse to a wood, from whence he intended to sally, and flank the enemy.

When the *Indians* had marched within a proper distance, they discharged a shower of arrows, and then fell upon the *Spaniards* with such fury and precipitation, that their fire-arms and cross-bows being unable to stop them, they were obliged to have recourse to their swords, and as the enemy pressed on, the artillery destroyed them by whole companies. But the *Indians* fought with such bravery, that the ball was no sooner passed than they closed again, drowning the groans of the wounded by their outcries.

Diego de Ordaz acted with great courage: but his troops could scarcely stand their ground, when *Cortes* with his 15 horse rushing suddenly from the wood, broke through the thickest of the enemy, whom he trampled under his horses feet, while they being amazed and terrified at the sight of those unknown animals, threw down their arms and fled with precipitation.

Diego de Ordaz being soon sensible that the relief he expected was arrived, from the weak resistance of the enemy's van, which now began to turn their backs, advanced with his infantry, and charged those who had been just ready to overwhelm him with such resolution, that he obliged

them to give way, till he came to the place where *Cortes* and his captains had dispersed the enemy, who retreated, making a running fight, till the *Spaniards* pursuing them, they fled in the utmost confusion, leaving above 800 dead upon the spot; the *Spaniards* had two men killed, and threescore and ten wounded.

The next day *Cortes* ordered two or three of the *Indian* officers, who were prisoners, to be brought before him, and perceiving that their countenances had all the marks of terror, gave them a courteous reception, and then set them at liberty, giving them some trifling presents, and telling them, he knew how to conquer and to forgive. This instance of his moderation had such an effect, that in a few hours several of the natives came loaded with *Indian* corn, fowls, and other provisions, as a present from the principal Cacique of *Tabasco*, who by these persons made proposals of peace; but *Jerom de Aguilar* observing that these were mean people, *Cortes*, though very desirous of peace, refused to admit their proposals, and sent them back without seeing them, ordering them by his interpreter, to acquaint their Cacique, that if he desired his friendship, he must send persons of greater distinction to solicit it. The Cacique being immediately sensible of his error, the next day sent 30 of his principal men adorned with plumes and jewels, and followed by a train of *Indians*, who carried another present of the same kind to the *Spanish* general.

Cortes being attended by his officers, with a very severe and stern look, gave audience to these Ambassadors, who approaching him with
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*Cortés receives Donna Marina wth other female
slaves as a present from the Cacique of Tabasco.*

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great submission, perfumed him with incense, composed of sweet scented gums, made an apology for the war; and concluded with earnest intreaties for a peace. The General replied by observing that he had just cause to be displeased with them: but granting their request, made them a present of a few baubles. At which they departed, highly satisfied with the success of their negotiation.

Cortes was afterwards visited by the Cacique in person, attended by all his officers, who brought with them a present of cotton cloths, plumes of various colours, and some pieces of gold of admirable workmanship. The General loaded him with caresses, and the visit passed in protestations of a reciprocal and sincere friendship. The *Indians* of distinction who were in his retinue were treated by the *Spanish* Captains, and nothing appeared but signs of joy and peace. At taking leave, the Cacique appointed another day for an interview, and to shew his confidence in the General, ordered his subjects to return with their families to *Tabasco*, and to assist the *Spaniards* to the utmost of their power. The next day the Cacique returned, with a present of 20 *Indian* women, who were skilled in making bread of *Indian* corn, and dressing other provisions. This bread was made by grinding the corn between two stones, till it was reduced to flour, when it was made into a paste without leaven, and being moulded, was spread upon a sort of earthen plates, on which it was baked over the fire. Among these women was one of uncommon beauty, who was

20 *The CONQUEST of MEXICO,*

afterwards baptized by the name of *Marina*, and became *Cortes's* mistress.

The pilots now hastened the departure of the fleet, and *Palm Sunday* drawing nigh, *Cortes* appointed that day for their embarking. The *Spaniards* accordingly set sail for *Mexico*, coasting along to the westward, till they arrived at the port now called *St. Juan de Ulua*, where they had no sooner come to an anchor, between the island and the main land, than two large canoes, called *piraguas*, came with *Indians* from the neighbouring coast, and on their drawing near began to speak in a language which *Aguilar* did not understand; a circumstance that very much chagrined *Cortes*, from his apprehending that the want of an interpreter would be a great obstacle to the success of his enterprize; but *Marina* guessing his concern by his looks, told *Aguilar* in the *Yucatan* tongue, that the people spoke the *Mexican* language, and desired audience of the General on the part of the Governor of that province. *Cortes*, being rejoiced at finding that she understood their meaning, desired them to come on board, and deliver their message. This woman was the daughter of a Cacique of one of the provinces subject to the Emperor of *Mexico*, but in her youth had been carried to a *Mexican* garrison, on the confines of *Yucatan*; after which, by some misfortune she became a slave to the Cacique of *Tabasco*, who made a present of her to *Cortes*. As this woman was not yet acquainted with the language of *Spain*, she interpreted to *Aguilar* in the *Yucatan* tongue, what the *Mexican* said, and he imparted it to *Cortes* in the *Castilian*. By this double interpretation the

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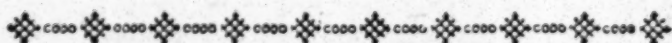
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General learned that *Pilpatoe*, Governor, and *Teutile*, Captain-general of that province, had sent to know with what intention he came upon their coast; when *Cortes* presenting them with a few baubles, and treating them with some *Spanish* wine, told them, that he came as a friend to treat of matters of great importance to their Prince and the whole empire, for which purpose he would meet the two Governors.



C H A P. III.

Cortes gives Audience to two Mexican Officers.

Sends a present to Motezuma, and receives one from that Prince. The State of the Mexican Empire, and the Apprehensions of Motezuma, who sends a second Present to Cortes; with express Orders to leave the Coast. Cortes artfully puts a Stop to the Murmurs of the People.

ON Good Friday the Spaniards landed, and having got their horses and artillery on shore, *Cortes* directed the soldiers to cut fascines, in order to intrench themselves, and to build a sufficient number of huts to shelter them from the excessive heat of the sun, when *Teutile* sending a great number of the natives to their assistance, this work was soon finished. The people also brought plenty of provisions, and some cotton cloth to cover the buildings erected for the officers: but notwithstanding this friendly intercourse with the natives, *Cortes* kept himself upon his guard, and planted his artillery in such

11 The CONQUEST of MEXICO,

a manner as to command the country. On *Easter-Day* he was visited by *Teutile* and *Pilpatoc*, attended by a very great retinue; he received them with extraordinary state, surrounded by his officers and soldiers. The first compliments being passed, and it being the hour of divine service, he conducted them to a large hut, and ordered *Aguilar* and *Marina* to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the design of his voyage, he ought to comply with the duties of his religion, and to recommend to the God of all other gods the success of his proposal. After service was over, *Cortes* returned to his quarters, where the two Generals were entertained at dinner, in as splendid a manner as possible, and that being ended, he called his interpreters, and with a determined air told them, that he came to treat with the Emperor *Motexuma*, on the part of *Don Carlos* of *Austria*, monarch of the East, on affairs of great importance, both with respect to himself and all his subjects; for this reason it was necessary for him to appear before his royal presence, to which he hoped to be admitted, with all the respect due to the greatness of the King his master.

Cortes's guests appeared alarmed at this declaration, and before they returned an answer ordered their attendants to bring in the present they had brought with them. Upon which 20 or 30 persons entered loaded with provisions, fine cloth, feathers of various colours, and a large box, in which were several pieces of gold curiously wrought. Then turning to *Cortes*, *Teutile* desired him to accept that small present from two of *Motexuma's* slaves, who had orders

ders to entertain such strangers as landed upon his coast: but begged he would not think of prosecuting his design, it being no easy matter to speak with their Prince. To this *Cortes* replied, with some warmth, that Kings never refused to hear the ambassadors of other Princes, and that their business was to acquaint *Motexuma* with his arrival, and that he was resolved to see him before he left the country.

The *Indian* Generals, confounded at this boldness, earnestly intreated *Cortes* not to move from his quarters, till they had received *Motexuma's* answer, assuring him, that in the mean time they would supply him with every thing necessary for the support of his soldiers.

During this conference, some *Mexican* painters, who came in the General's train, were busily employed in drawing upon cotton cloths, the ships, soldiers, arms, artillery, horses, and every thing else that appeared remarkable, which they introduced into different landships that were no way contemptible, either for the drawing or colouring. These pictures were designed by *Teutile*, to give *Motexuma* some idea of what appeared too extraordinary to be fully described by words; but here and there were placed some characters, which seemed to explain the picture.

Cortes being informed of what these painters were doing, went out to see them, when observing that these figures wanted action to express the valour of his troops, he ordered them to arms, drew them up in a body, and commanded the artillery to be made ready; then telling

Teutile

Teutile and *Pilpatoe*, that he would entertain them after the manner of his country, he mounted his horse, with his Captains, who marched two and two, to the amazement of the *Indians*, who, seeing such stately animals so obedient to their riders, imagined that there was something supernatural in those who could manage them with such ease and dexterity. *Cortes* then divided his troops into two bodies, gave a mock fight, and at a signal given they discharged their muskets, and soon after the artillery; when the confusion and astonishment of these people were so great, that some fell down upon the ground, other began to fly, and those who had most presence of mind were fixed to the spot with terror and admiration.

Cortes now endeavoured to dissipate their apprehensions by assuring them, that these were only military diversions. The painters immediately began to represent the *Spaniards* armed and drawn up in ranks; the horses in the attitudes of their exercises, and the artillery with fire and smoke. Mean while *Cortes* returned to his house with the two Generals, and after having made them a present, prepared one for *Motexuma*, consisting of several polished looking glasses, a holland shirt, a cap of crimson velvet adorned with a gold medal, and a tapestry chair.

Teutile and *Pilpatoe* at length, seeming much pleased with their entertainment, took their leave; but retiring only to a small distance, held a consultation, in which it was agreed that the latter should remain on that spot to observe the motions

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tions of the *Spaniards*. *Pilpatoe's* attendants immediately began to build houses, and a considerable village was formed in a few hours ; but lest *Cortes* should be offended at this step, he sent to inform him that he staid there, in order to be at hand to provide for his entertainment, and to supply his troops with provisions. Though *Cortes* guessed his real intention, he took no notice of his suspicions, and *Pilpatoe* continued to supply him with provisions in great plenty. Mean while *Teutile* dispatched messengers to *Motexuma* with an account of what had happened, with the pictures drawn by his order, and *Cortes's* present.

Motexuma was provided with a great number of couriers chosen from the swiftest of the *Indians*, who were distributed along all the principal roads of the kingdom, and rewards were paid out of the public treasury to those who first arrived at the appointed place. These couriers were relieved at every town, which occasioned all dispatches to be carried with surprizing expedition, and an answer was returned from *Mexico* within seven days, though the distance from that city to *Juan de Ulua* amounts to 60 leagues. *Motexuma's* message to *Cortes* was brought by *Teutile* with that Prince's present, which was carried by 100 *Indians*, and consisted of very fine cotton robes and many curiosities formed of feathers, where the beautiful variety of the colours, was so mixed and disposed by the skill of the artist, that without making use of artificial colours, or of the pencil, they formed curious pictures, and a very fine imitation of natural objects.

objects. They also brought a great number of bows, arrows, and targets made of the finest wood; two large circular plates, the one of gold representing the sun; and the other of silver with the figure of the moon; and a considerable quantity of precious stones, pieces of gold, gold collars, rings, pendants, and other ornaments of the same metal in the shape of birds and beasts, so curiously wrought, that the workmanship seemed to exceed the value of the metal. These several articles being placed in order upon mats made of palm-tree leaves, *Tentile* turned to *Cortes*, and told him by the interpreters, that the great Emperor *Motexuma* had sent him these things in return for his present, and to shew how much he valued the friendship of the King his Sovereign; but it was neither convenient nor possible at that time to admit him to his court. *Cortes* returned thanks for the present, and answered that it was far from his design to be wanting in obedience to *Motexuma*, but that he could not dishonour a King that was respected amongst the greatest Princes in the world, by returning without fulfilling his orders.

Cortes now directed *Francisco de Montejo*, one of his captains, to cruise with two vessels along the coast, to take a view of the towns without landing, and to search for some harbour where the ships might be better sheltered from the winds.

Motexuma was at first incensed at *Cortes's* perseverance in his demand, and, in the first transports of his resentment, proposed instantly to
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destroy those insolent strangers who presumed to dispute his will; but his rage no sooner subsided, than it was succeeded by sorrow and consternation. He held private councils with his ministers, public sacrifices were offered in the temples, and such marks of disturbance and confusion were visible in his whole behaviour, that the people began to talk without reserve of some signs and presages, that were supposed to be indications of the approaching ruin of the Empire.

The Empire of *Mexico* was then in its greatest glory, having under its dominion a prodigious extent of country, governed either by *Motexuma* in person, or by many petty Kings or Caciques, who were his tributaries. It extended in length about 1500 miles, in some places it was 600 broad, and it was in general a populous, plentiful and rich country. This Empire from a very small beginning had risen to such an height of power and greatness in little more than 130 years, during which time the *Mexicans* subdued all the neighbouring states. They were at first governed by a military chief; but in the progress of their conquests, they chose a King, and gave the supreme dominion to him who had the greatest reputation for valour, without paying any other regard to hereditary succession, than that of preferring those of the royal family, when they were not excelled by the merit of another competitor.

The Emperor *Motexuma*, the second of the name, and the eleventh sovereign of *Mexico*, was of the royal blood. In his youth he had distinguished himself in war, and obtained the reputation of a brave general, which, together
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with his exerting the arts of popularity, had raised him to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people. He had reigned fourteen years when *Cortes* arrived on his coast, and is represented by the *Spanish* writers, perhaps to palliate the cruelty of his conquerors, as one of the greatest tyrants recorded in history. *Juan Grijalva*, had landed in his dominions the year before, and it is said that about that time there happened many prodigies which were supposed to presage the ruin of his Empire; such as a dreadful comet appearing in the night, the lake of *Mexico* overflow'd its banks with great impetuosity, though the weather was calm and dry, and the people even imagined, that they heard lamentable voices in the air, foretelling the dissolution of that Empire. These signs and portents, some of which were perhaps invented by the disaffected, made a very deep impression on the mind of *Motexuma*, and disturbed his counsellors to such a degree, that when they received a second message from *Cortes*, they concluded that they were utterly ruined. Some however imagined that the portents were sent as warnings to prevent their destruction, by putting them upon their guard: while others thought the *Spaniards* ought to be received with the respect due to creatures of an higher rank, who had given the most dreadful proofs of an amazing courage and invincible power, supported by the thunder and lightening of Heaven. *Motexuma* attended to their debates, and at length resolved to send another present to *Cortes*, with orders to leave the coast, and in case of his refusal, to

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levy a powerful army, and to act against him with all his forces.

While *Motexuma's* court was employed in these deliberations, *Francisco de Montejo*, whom *Cortes* had sent to examine the coast, returned from his cruise, having found at the distance of some leagues to the northward a town called *Quiabitslan*, situated in a fertile and well cultivated soil, near a bay, where the ships might ride at anchor in safety, under the shelter of some high rocks. This place was about twelve leagues distant from *St. Juan de Uluq*, and *Cortes* was beginning to think of removing thither, when his resolution was suspended by the arrival of *Teutile* with the principal captains of his troops, who came to him burning incense in little perfuming pans, and, after the ceremony of fumigation, produced *Motexuma's* second present, which consisted of the same particulars as those of which the first had been composed, though in a smaller quantity, together with three green stones resembling emeralds to be presented to the King of *Spain*, as jewels of inestimable value. These were delivered with express orders to *Cortes* and his followers to leave the country without delay; but the *Spaniards* still insisting that they would see the Monarch in person, *Teutile* started up with marks of anger and confusion, and told *Cortes* that hitherto *Motexuma* had treated him as a guest, and it would be his own fault if he was used as an enemy. He then without waiting for an answer abruptly departed, and was followed by *Pilpatoe* and the rest of his attendants.

Cortes immediately ordered the guards to be doubled, and the next day the *Spaniards* had the mortification to find that the *Indians* who inhabited *Pilpatoc's* cabins were retired; that those who used to bring them provisions were gone, and that there was not an *Indian* to be seen. The apprehension of their wanting necessaries now raised a spirit of discontent among the soldiers, which was fomented by some of them who were the friends of *Velasquez*, who began to exclaim, that *Cortes* from meer ambition pursued a rash design, without a force proportioned to the undertaking, which would infallibly end in his destruction, as well as in that of his followers, unless they returned to *Cuba* to refit the fleet and reinforce the army.

Cortes was well acquainted with these murmurs, but learning from his friends that the majority were on his side, he appeared before the malecontents, when *Diego de Ordaz*, in the name of the rest, remonstrated with some warmth, that as his forces were very unequal to the design of subduing a mighty Empire, it was high time to return to *Cuba*, where they might be reinforced in such a manner as would enable them to pursue this great design with some probability of success.

Cortes, though highly provoked at this advice, which opposed all his ambitious views, replied with great composure, that those who complained must be weary of that uninterrupted success, which had exceeded their highest hopes; their success at *Cozumel*, and their victory at *Tabasco*; but that he had no inclination to lay the least restraint upon his soldiers, and since they

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were unwilling to proceed, he would immediately prepare for their return to *Cuba*. He soon after gave directions for returning to that island, and ordered the captains to embark with their respective companies, that they might be ready to sail the next morning : but this declaration was no sooner made public than his emissaries, according to the directions they had received, began to exclaim with great warmth that *Cortes* had deceived them, by professing that he was resolved to make a settlement in that country, which notwithstanding their unexpected success, he was on the point of deserting, and that if he had a mind to abandon the enterprize, he might with such as were willing to follow him; for they should soon find another gentleman who would assume the command. This clamour was so artfully managed, that it brought over many of those who had espoused the contrary party, and they increased to such a degree, that some of *Cortes's* friends were obliged to interpose, in order to put a stop to the disturbance they themselves had raised. They commended the resolution of these men, and offered to desire *Cortes* to suspend the execution of his order, and without giving them time to cool, went directly to their general, attended by many of the soldiers, in whose presence they told him in a high strain, that the troops were upon the point of mutinying on account of the order he had given for their reembarkation, which they supposed was contrary to the advice of their captains, and unworthy of the courage of *Spaniards*, who ought to be overcome by no difficulties or dangers. *Cortes* concealed the joy

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he felt at the success of his expedient, and coolly replied, that he had been misinformed, that he would proceed with such as were willing; but would constrain nobody, and therefore would cause a ship to be provided for carrying back to *Cuba* those who wanted the courage to follow him and his friends. This reply was received with acclamations of joy, and had such an effect, that those who were dissatisfied carefully concealed their discontent.



C H A P. IV.

Cortes makes a Settlement, to which he gives the Name of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz: Marches to Quiabistan, and in his way concludes an Alliance with the Cacique of Zempoalla: He seizes Motezuma's Commissaries; forms a strong Confederacy of the Indian Caciques; builds the Town of Vera Cruz, and receives another Embassy from Motezuma.

CORTES had no sooner put a stop to the dissension which had arisen among his people than he was visited by five deputies from the Cacique of *Zempoalla*, a neighbouring province in the road to the place where he intended to remove his quarters, who came to offer him the friendship and alliance of their master. They differed in their habit from the *Mexican* chiefs, though like them; they had rings in their ears and lips, to which hung jewels. *Cortes* gave them a very civil reception, ordered

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ordered them to be well treated, and was greatly pleased at hearing that the *Zempoallans*, though tributary to *Motexuma*, were dissatisfied with his yoke, and represented him as a proud and cruel Prince: whence he foresaw, that he should be able to engage these people to facilitate his future success. He therefore dismissed the deputies with presents, and with orders to assure the Cacique of his friendship, and of his paying him a visit in his way to *Quiabissan*.

Cortes, in order to divest himself of his uneasy dependance upon *Velasquez*, and to remove his want of legal authority, laid, in concert with his friends, the plan of a corporation to be established in some place on the continent, and several persons were chosen to fill the offices of government. These immediately appointed a clerk of the council, with other inferior officers, and, having taken the accustomed oaths to act according to the rules of justice, and their duty to God and the King, began to exercise their functions. The next morning the council being assembled, under the pretence of consulting the augmentation and preservation of the settlement to be made, which was to have the name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, *Cortes* desired admittance, to propose an affair relating to the public welfare. The council rose up to receive him, and he paying his respects to the magistracy, went and took his seat next to the first Regidore, and then laid open the reasons which had induced him to disapprove the commission under which he had acted. He then threw upon the table what he had received from *Diego Velasquez*; kissed the truncheon; delivered it

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into the hands of the Alcade, and then retired to his house, in the capacity of a private man. The council according to a preconcerted agreement unanimously admitted of his resignation, and with the same unanimity voted that he should be appointed general of the army, and that they would make out a new commission in the King's name, to be in force till they could know his Majesty's pleasure. Then the people being assembled by a public crier, were acquainted with *Cortes's* resignation, and the resolution of the council ; at which they expressed uncommon joy, and immediately proceeded to *Cortes's* house, with the Alcades and Regidores, who informed him that the town of *Villa Rica* had in the name of *Don Carlos* King of *Spain*, and with the consent and approbation of the inhabitants in full council, chosen and appointed him general of the army in *New Spain*; and in case it were necessary, required and commanded him to take upon him that office for the public good, and his Majesty's service.

Cortes accepted of this post with great respect, and began to govern the troops with a kind of authority that secured the obedience of the soldiers. The friends of *Velasquez*, however, could not disguise their vexation; but resented this alteration in a very indiscreet manner; they endeavoured to invalidate the authority of the council; loudly inveighed against the ambition of *Cortes*; and began to raise a dissension that seemed to threaten the ruin of the expedition. Upon this *Cortes* ordered *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro Escudero*, and *Juan Velasquez de Leon* to be seized, carried on board the fleet, and put in irons,

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This action struck terror into the troops, and in order to improve it, he positively declared, that he would proceed against them as seditious persons and disturbers of the peace, and make them pay for their obstinacy with the loss of their heads. In this disposition he continued several days, during which no body was allowed to visit them: but afterwards their friends were admitted, and among the rest some of his confidants, who found means to reduce them to reason. He then suffered himself to be pacified, and so effectually conciliated their affections, that they afterwards stood by him with unshaken fidelity.

Cortes now prepared for leaving this part of the country, and having ordered the ships to sail for the bay of *Quiabistan* resolved to march thither by land. In a few hours he reached the river of *Zempoalla*, which being very deep the troops crossed it in canoes, and other vessels belonging to some fishermen, which they found on the shore, the horses being obliged to swim. The army soon after arrived at some houses in the district of *Zempoalla*, which they found entirely abandoned, and without either furniture or provisions; though the natives left in their temples several idols, with knives made of flint, and some miserable remains of human victims. Here they first saw the *Mexican* books, three or four of which were in the temples, and were supposed to contain the rites of their religion. Each was made of thin varnished cloth, folded in leaves and made up into volumes, resembling ours.

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The *Spaniards* having placed proper guards, took up their quarters in the best houses, and the next day continued their march; but saw not one person during the whole morning, till entering some very agreeable meadows they discovered twelve *Indians*, who were coming in search of *Cortes*, with a present of fowls and bread from the Cacique of *Zempoalla*, who invited him to his town, where he had provided quarters for his troops. *Cortes* dismissed six of the *Indians*, with thanks for the hospitality of their Prince, and detained the rest as guides to the town, which they told him was at the distance of a day's journey. At night they staid in a small village, where they were kindly entertained by the inhabitants.

In the morning the troops marched towards *Zempoalla*, following their guides, though with all imaginable precaution, as *Cortes* still doubted the sincerity of the *Indians*. Towards the evening, they were met by 20 *Indians*, who came from the town to receive *Cortes*, with an apology from the Cacique, who was kept at home by a natural impediment. *Zempoalla* was a large city that afforded a beautiful prospect; it was situated between two rivers; the buildings were of stone, whitened on the outside with a sort of shining lime, which at a distance had such a noble effect, that one of the scouts returned in haste to *Cortes*, crying aloud that the walls were of silver. At their entering it, the squares and streets were filled with a multitude of people drawn together by curiosity, and the Cacique himself appeared at the gate of his palace,

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supported by some of his nobles, for he was so extremely fat, that he could not move without much difficulty. A mantle of fine cotton, enriched with jewels, was thrown over his naked body, and he wore pendants in his ears and lips. On his approaching to salute *Cortes*, his unweildy appearance made it necessary for that General to put a stop to the laughter of his soldiers: he received *Cortes* in his arms, and welcomed both him and the rest of the Captains in such sensible expressions as created respect, and having desired *Cortes* to repose himself after his journey, told him that he would visit him at his lodgings, where they would converse more at leisure about their mutual interests. The troops then retired to the quarters provided for them in square courts, furnished with a number of apartments, where they were plentifully accommodated with provisions and other necessaries.

The Cacique soon after sent a present to *Cortes* of jewels, gold and other curiosities, to the value of about 2000 pezoës, and followed this present in person, carried in a chair on the shoulders of the chief of his family, and attended by a splendid retinue. *Cortes* went out to receive him, and retiring to a private apartment with him and the interpreters, expatiated upon the grandeur of the King of *Spain*, and the errors of idolatry; telling him that the design of his coming with his valiant troops, was to redress wrongs, to punish violence, and to vindicate the cause of reason and justice. He artfully touched on this subject, in order to draw him to complain of *Moteczuma*, that he might discover

discover what advantages he might expect to reap from his resentment against that Prince; and indeed, the words were no sooner pronounced than he began to utter his complaints, and to observe that the neighbouring Caciques groaned under the tyranny of *Motexuma*, who oppressed his tributaries, and caused himself to be adored by his subjects, as if he had been one of their Gods: and concluded with observing, that he did not wish to engage *Cortes* in a quarrel with such a potent Emperor, whose power was irresistible. *Cortes* immediately reply'd, that while he had justice on his side he should pay but little regard to *Motexuma's* power: but that he was on his march to *Quibablan*, where the injured and oppressed should find him ready to redress their wrongs, and that in the mean time he might assure his friends and confederates, that he would willingly undertake their defence. In short, having continued the conversation for some time, the Cacique took his leave highly satisfied, while *Cortes* was equally pleased at the prospect of strengthening his interest by such a powerful alliance.

When the troops were ready to march, they found 400 *Indians* provided to carry their baggage and provisions, and to help to conduct the artillery. These carriers were called *Tamenes*, and were able to travel five or six leagues in a day, with three-quarters of a hundred weight on their backs. The country they now entered was fertile and pleasant, a part of it was laid out in corn fields, and the rest covered with trees. They staid all night at a little village they

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they found deserted, and the next morning arrived at *Quiabistan*, a town strongly situated upon a rock with the avenues to it narrow and steep. But though this place was naturally strong they entered it without opposition, nor did they perceive any person till, coming to a square in which the *Indian* Temples were placed, fourteen or fifteen of the natives handsomely adorned with feathers came out to meet them. *Cortes* encouraged them by his affability, and gave them some glass beads, when recovering their spirits, they informed him that their *Cacique* had retired in order to avoid a war, as he neither chose to deny them admittance, nor to trust his person among armed troops that were intirely unknown to him, and that the inhabitants could not be prevented from following his example; but that as soon as they should be sensible of the goodness of such guests, they would return to their houses, and esteem it their happiness to serve and obey them. *Cortes* gave them the strongest assurances of his friendship, and while they were gone with the news, gave strict orders to the soldiers, to behave with great civility to these *Indians*, who soon shewed the confidence they placed in the *Spaniards*; for some families returned that very night, and in a little time the town was filled with its inhabitants.

Some time after the *Cacique* himself returned, and was introduced by the *Cacique* of *Zempoalla*, both of whom were carried on men's shoulders, and the latter made a handsome excuse for his friend. The conversation turned upon the tyranny of *Motexuma*, whom they represented as a monster, who not only impoverished them by
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the tribute he demanded, but robbed them of their wives and daughters, with whose blood he stained the altars of his Gods, after having sacrificed their honour to more shameful purposes.

In the midst of their discourse they were interrupted by the entrance of two or three *Indians*, who seemed in a great fright, and whispering the *Caciques*, put them in such confusion, that they changed colour, and hastily retired. The cause of this disorder was instantly known; for six Commissaries from *Moteczuma* were seen passing before the quarters of the *Spaniards*, richly adorned with feathers and pendants of gold, and attended by a number of inferior officers and servants, who cooled them with fans, made of feathers. *Cortes* went to the gate to see them, when they passed by without paying him the least respect, and with such a contemptuous look, that the soldiers would have immediately chastized them, had they not been restrained by their General, who contented himself with sending *Marina* with a sufficient guard, to know the cause of their coming. By this means he understood that the commissaries, after having seated themselves in the Town-house, summoned the *Caciques* to appear before them, and having sharply reprimanded them for presuming to entertain the Emperor's enemies, demanded over and above the ordinary tribute, twenty *Indians* to be sacrificed to their Gods, as an atonement for their crime. *Cortes* no sooner received this intelligence, than he ordered some soldiers to bring the *Caciques* without noise, and telling them, that he knew the inhuman purpose of the Commissaries, which he would not suffer them





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to obey, he desired them to assemble their people, to seize the *Mexicans*, and to leave the rest to his conduct.

The Caciques at first refused to comply with this bold command, till *Cortes* repeating his order in a peremptory manner, they went and executed it; and having seized *Motexuma's* ministers, put them in a kind of pillory in their prisons, to the great satisfaction of the people, who demanded that they should either die the death of traitors, or be instantly sacrificed to their Gods. *Cortes* however refused to grant this request, and having secured them, by a guard of *Spanish* soldiers, retired to his quarters, in order to contrive some method of extricating himself from the difficulty in which he was involved. He was unwilling to come to an open rupture with *Motexuma*, and yet thought it necessary to support the party he had already formed against that Prince, in order to have their assistance, in case he should happen to want it. In consequence of these reflections, he, at midnight, sent privately for two of the prisoners, whom he treated in a very obliging manner, told them they were at liberty, and as he had restored their freedom, they might assure their Prince that he would speedily endeavour to release the rest of their companions, and to make the Caciques sensible of their fault. The *Mexicans* heard this declaration with equal joy and astonishment, but durst not set out on their journey, for fear of being killed or taken by the way; the *Spanish* soldiers were therefore ordered to conduct them to the bay, and one of the ship's boats carried them beyond the district of *Zempoalla*.

The next morning the Caciques came to *Cortes*, and expressing great concern at the escape of the prisoners, he received the news with the appearance of much surprize and vexation; but proposed, in order to prevent any accident of the like kind for the future, to take care of the rest himself, and immediately ordered them to be carried on board the fleet, giving private directions for their being civilly entertained. Thus without losing the confidence of the Caciques, he conferred an obligation upon *Motexuma*, the greatness of whose power made him unwilling to provoke his resentment.

The moderation with which the *Spaniards* behaved towards their allies, was quickly made known to the neighbouring districts, and in a few days, *Cortes* was visited by above thirty Caciques of the mountains within sight of *Quiabissan*, where were numerous settlements of a rude people called *Totonaques*, who were remarkable for their strength, activity, and courage: these swore to be faithful to the King of *Spain*, and offered to assist *Cortes* against *Motexuma*, with an incredible number of armed *Indians*.

Cortes now resolved to settle the corporation of *Villa Rica de la Cruz*, which had hitherto moved with the army; for which purpose he pitched upon a plain between *Quiabissan* and the sea, where the soil was extremely fertile, well watered with rivers, and abounded with trees, that were commodiously situated for the cutting of timber for building. They began with laying the foundation of a church, and the *Spaniards*,
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being assisted by their *Indian* friends, both that and the houses were soon erected; for the officers, and even *Cortes* himself, set an example to the rest, by performing the most difficult work; by which means the town was soon compleated, and encompassed with a mud wall, sufficient to defend it against all the methods of attack used by the *Indians*.

In the mean time *Motexuma* being informed that the Cacique of *Zempoalla*, whose fidelity was suspected, had admitted the strangers into his town, resolved not only to chastize this rebellious tributary, but to march in person against the *Spaniards*, whom we are told, he destined as a sacrifice to his Gods. But his preparations for this enterprize were suspended by the arrival of the two *Indians*, who had been released by *Cortes*. These gave an account of their imprisonment; of their owing their liberty to the Captain of the strangers; of his courteous treatment, and the message he had ordered them to deliver; upon which *Motexuma's* anger was mitigated, and he resolved to have again recourse to a negotiation, in order to endeavour to divert *Cortes* from his design.

The *Mexican* Ambassadors arrived just as the new settlement and fortress of *Vera Cruz* was compleated. These were two young men who were the Emperor's nephews, attended by four ancient Caciques, who were to serve as Counsellors. They had a splendid retinue, and the present, which consisted of gold, feathers and cotton, was valued by the *Spaniards* at 2000 pieces of eight. They told *Cortes* that the Emperor had determined to chastise the Caciques,

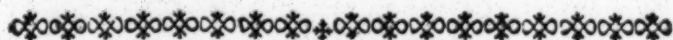
till the account he had received of his behaviour had induced him to suspend his vengeance; that he however hoped he would soon quit that country, since the obstacles which opposed his coming to court, were in their own nature insurmountable.

Cortes, according to his usual custom, received the presents made him by the Emperor, with great respect, and ordering the four imprisoned officers to be brought ashore, delivered them to the ambassadors; observing, that he was highly pleased at having such an opportunity of shewing his regard to the Emperor. That he thought the insolence of the *Caciques* in some measure excusable, from the extravagant behaviour of the officers themselves, who, not satisfied with the usual tribute, had the inhumanity to demand twenty *Indians* for their sacrifices. That he thought himself obliged to the *Caciques* for admitting and entertaining him in their territories, and therefore could not help interceding with *Motexuma* in their behalf; especially as they, together with the *Caciques* of the mountains, were now in a peculiar manner under his protection; that he would communicate the particulars of his embassy when he should appear in the Emperor's presence, and that no impediments or danger should prevent his receiving that favour. With this resolute answer, and some presents to the Ambassadors, and others for *Motexuma*, he dismissed them, greatly dissatisfied at his obstinacy: while this circumstance heightened the admiration of the *Indians*, who were astonished at seeing the haughty *Motexuma* solicit his friendship with such presents.

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CHAP. V.

Cortes is prevailed upon by false Pretences to engage in an Expedition against the Inhabitants of Zimpazingo. He demolishes the Idols of Zempoalla, and returns to Vera Cruz; where a Conspiracy being formed against him, he orders the Ships to be sunk.

A Short time after this event, the Cacique of Zempoalla came to Vera Cruz, and told Cortes, that the time was now come for him to protect his country against the *Mexicans*, who had arrived at Zimpazingo, whence they made excursions into his district, destroying the corn-fields, and committing other acts of hostility. Cortes thought himself obliged to support his new allies, and that it would not become him to suffer the insolence of the *Mexicans*, in a manner within his sight. He therefore desired the Cacique to provide *Indians* to carry his baggage, and draw his artillery; which being done, he set out at the head of 400 *Spaniards*, leaving the rest in the fortrefs of Vera Cruz. On his passing by Zempoalla, he was joined by 2000 armed *Indians*, assembled by the Cacique, to serve under him in this expedition. The same night he quartered his troops three leagues from Zimpazingo, and the next day in the afternoon discovered the town situated on the top of a small hill among great rocks, which concealed part of the buildings, and rendered it difficult of access.

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The *Spaniards* with much fatigue passed over the rocks, without meeting with the least resistance; but just as they were preparing to attack the town in several places at once, eight ancient Priests appeared, cloathed in black mantles that reached to the ground, the upper part was gathered about the neck, and a piece hung loose in the form of a hood; they had long hair which was clotted, and their hands and faces stained, with the blood of human sacrifices. These men approached the General with marks of the most humble submission, and soon convinced him that he had been imposed upon; since *Motexuma's* troops had retired some time before, and that this was only an artifice of his allies who were their inveterate enemies, in order to make him the instrument of their destruction. *Cortes* being provoked at the deceit, ordered the Captains *Olido* and *Al-verado* to march with their companies, and assemble the *Indians*, who had advanced before to get into the town. They were now busy in plundering it, and making prisoners, and being brought into his presence, loaded with booty, and followed by the miserable inhabitants crying aloud for justice, he commanded them to deliver up the goods to the Priests, that they might restore them to the proper owners. Then called for the *Zempoallan* Captains, told them with a threatening voice, that they had forfeited their lives by their presumption, in engaging him, by deceit, to compass their revenge. However he suffered himself to be appeased by the intercession of his own officers, whom he had before instructed for that purpose, though, indeed,

deed, he did not dare to punish them, for fear of losing the friendship of his new allies. Having thus reprimanded the *Zempoallans* he ordered them to lodge without the town, while he himself entering it with the *Spaniards*, was received with the applauses due to a deliverer, and visited by the Cacique, with others in that neighbourhood, who voluntarily acknowledged themselves subject to the King of *Spain*. He now formed a scheme for reconciling these *Indians*, and the *Zempoallans*, which he had the happiness to effect; and having made them friends, he returned to *Vera Cruz*, leaving his reputation and interest highly advanced by the issue of this expedition, which he had too credulously undertaken; and thus, like a consummate politician, he made even his very errors contribute to his grand design.

In his march back to *Zempoalla*, he passed by two towns belonging to those who were newly entered into the confederacy, when he observed a soldier steal a couple of hens, at which he was so provoked, that he ordered him to be instantly hanged; but permitted *Peter Alverado* to cut him down with his sword before he was dead.

On his return, he found the Cacique of *Zempoalla* waiting for him at some distance from the town, with a large quantity of provisions for the refreshment of the army; when observing that chief appear ashamed of his conduct, he assured him that he had laid aside his displeasure, and they having entered the town together, the Cacique made him a present of eight of the most beautiful virgins, who were of good families:
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they were adorned with gold necklaces and pendants, and attended by several women servants. Seven of these the Cacique allotted for the Captains, and the other being his own niece, he recommended as a wife to *Cortes*, in order that their friendship might be strengthened by the ties of blood. The General returned him thanks, and let him know that it was unlawful for a *Spaniard* to marry any woman who was an idolater, and took this opportunity of declaring against their idolatry and superstition.

Soon after the *Zempoallans* assembled on one of their most solemn festivals, in order to offer human sacrifices, which were performed with horrible ceremonies; when the wretched victims being cut to pieces were sold to the people as sacred food. *Cortes* being soon informed of this affair, was filled with indignation, and forgetting every other motive, ordered the Cacique and principal *Indians* who attended him to be brought before him, and with them proceeded to the Temple, followed by his troops. The Priests being informed of his approach, immediately ran to the gate, and with loud and hideous outcries called the people to the defence of their Gods. At which some armed *Indians* posted themselves in the avenues of the temple; when *Cortes* seeing the inhabitants assembled in great numbers, ordered *Marina* to tell them aloud, that the first arrow they should let fly, he would order the throat of the Cacique and all the principal *Indians* in his power to be cut, and then punish their presumption with fire and sword. The Cacique trembled at this dreadful menace, and

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commanding them to lay down their arms and retire, they obeyed with the utmost expedition. *Cortes* then began to declaim against the barbarity and absurdity of their religion, and at length proposed to the *Indians*, that they themselves should ascend the steps, and overthrow the Idols with their own hands: but prostrating themselves upon the ground, they declared with tears and the most dreadful lamentations, that they would suffer all the extremest tortures he could invent, rather than be guilty of committing such an impious sacrilege. But giving the same command to his soldiers, the Idols were in an instant thrown down and broken to pieces; while the *Indians* stood motionless with horror, every moment expecting to see the immediate vengeance of heaven fall on these impious men; but at length perceiving that they remained unhurt, and that the Gods were unable to defend themselves, their horror subsided, and changed into such contempt, that they themselves joined with the *Spaniards* in burning the fragments of their Idols; and the next day mass was celebrated in that very temple.

The *Spaniards* now returned to *Vera Cruz*; and on the day they reached that new colony, a vessel arrived from *Cuba*, commanded by *Francisco de Salcedo*, which brought Captain *Luis Martin*, ten soldiers, and two horses. By these gentlemen the General was informed, that *Velasquez* had obtained the title of King's Lieutenant of the island of *Cuba*, with a commission to trade and make settlements in the new discovered countries, and that he was resolved to put a stop to
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Cortes's proceedings: Upon this information, the latter was determined to lay the affair before the king; at his desire the Council of *Vera Cruz* wrote a particular account of the expedition, and of *Velasquez's* injurious behaviour towards him; beseeching his Majesty, in consideration of his great merit, to grant him the commission of Captain-general, that he might exert himself in the service of his country, without having any dependance on the Governor of *Cuba*. While *Cortes* himself, in another letter, explained his reasons for hoping that he should be able to reduce the whole empire of *Mexico* to his Majesty's obedience. These dispatches were committed to *Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero* and *Francisco Montejo*: but *Cortes* thinking that the fifth part of the gold they had collected would be but a trifling present for the King, prevailed with the officers and soldiers to resign their shares, and accordingly the above officers embarked for *Spain* on the 16th of *July* 1519, with the gold, jewels, and curiosities, together with some *Indians*, who voluntarily consented to perform the voyage; and with a particular present from *Hernando* to his father *Martin Cortes*.

These deputies had been but just sent to *Spain*, when some of the friends of *Velasquez* privately concerted the means of escaping to *Cuba*, in order to give intelligence to *Velasquez* of these proceedings; for which purpose they had secured one of the vessels, and laid in provisions for the voyage; but in the very night when they were going to embark, one of the accomplices went to *Cortes*, and informed him of the whole scheme; when

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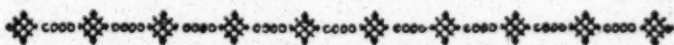
when the latter took his measures with such success, that he seized all the persons concerned; who being brought to their trial, two of the ringleaders were condemned to be hanged, two others were ordered to be whipt as old offenders, the principal mariner of the ship was sentenced to lose one of his feet, and the rest were pardoned. Cortes had no sooner signed the warrant for their execution, than he set out for *Zempoalla*, to prevent his being solicited to pardon the principal offenders.

Cortes being very much disturbed at this conspiracy, which might again break out so as to disconcert his whole scheme, formed a resolution, that at once evinced the greatness and intrepidity of his mind: this was to destroy the ships, that the soldiers being deprived of all means of escape, might act with greater ardour and unanimity, from their having no other choice but to conquer or die. Having communicated this important scheme to his confidants, they exerted themselves amongst the soldiers in such a manner, that they themselves went to persuade him to agree to it, and among other arguments urged, that there being 100 mariners on board, they would greatly add to their strength, and bear a part of all their fatigues. Cortes seemed convinced by their reasons, and a public instrument was drawn up by a notary, by which piece of subtlety he was saved from being under the obligation of paying for the ships, the whole army being equally bound for the payment of them. This being done, orders were given for bringing on shore the iron work, anchors, sails, and every thing that might be of use, and then to sink them
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all, except the boats, which were reserved for fishing.

But no sooner had *Cortes* taken this extraordinary step, than all the advantage of it seemed to be destroyed by an accident that could not possibly be foreseen, and which it was therefore impossible for him to avoid. This was the arrival of a small squadron upon the coast, of which he received advice by an express from *Juan de Escalant*. He immediately went to *Vera Cruz*, and at his arrival perceived one of the vessels at anchor at a considerable distance from the shore, where were landed three *Spaniards*, one of whom was a public notary. *Cortes* went to them with a small party, when the notary delivered to him a writing, which contained in substance, that the Governor of *Jamaica* laid claim to a part of that country, and therefore sent to inform *Cortes*, that he was not to make a settlement there. *Cortes* declined taking the paper, and very mildly told him, that it would be better if Captain *Pineda*, who he understood was the commander of the squadron, would come on shore, in order that they might adjust the affair in an amicable manner; but the notary refusing to carry this message, and insisting in a disrespectful manner, upon having a direct answer to his notification, *Cortes* ordered them to be seized, and then waited all night behind a sand-hill near the shore, in hopes that others would land from the ship. But finding that no body came, he directed three of his men to put on the prisoners cloaths, and to go down to the sea side, where they were to make signals with their cloaks. In consequence of this stratagem a boat

boat came off from the ship with twelve men well armed, which being perceived by *Cortes's* soldiers, they retired under a tree, and four men landing from the boat with an *Indian*, advanced towards them, without having the least doubt of their being their own people. By which stratagem he also got these into his hands; when the boats crew seeing what had happened, rowed back to the vessel, which soon after weighed anchor and stood to sea. These men readily enlisted in the service, and *Cortes* returned to *Zempoalla* with a small recruit of seven *Spaniards*, which was then esteemed a very considerable reinforcement.



CHAP. VI.

Cortes begins his March for Mexico; stays several Days at Zocothlan and Xacazingo; sends Ambassadors to Tlascala; but his Proposals of Peace being rejected, fights an obstinate Battle with the Tlascalans. Xicotencal, General of the Tlascalans, attacks the Spanish Quarters by Night; but is divested of his Command, and the Tlascalans sue for Peace.

IN a few days after *Cortes's* return to *Zempoalla*, he drew up the army, forming a body of *Spaniards* for the van-guard, and another of *Indians* for the rear, commanded by three *Caciques* of the mountains; the strongest of the carriers were reserved for drawing the artillery, the rest were loaded with the baggage, and having

appointed an advanced party to reconnoitre, they began their march towards *Mexico*, on the 16th of *August* 1519, and in their way were kindly entertained at *Jalapa*, *Socoehima*, and *Texucla*, towns belonging to the confederates, in each of which places they erected a cross, while *Cortes* exhorted the people to forbear offering human sacrifices. They now entered upon the rough part of the mountains, where they were obliged to march for three days over rocks and precipices, in very cold and rainy weather, without any thing to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the air. Just as they reached the summit, their provisions began to fail: they there found a temple, and a large quantity of wood, but made no stay, as they observed some villages on the other side of the mountain, to which they hastened with as much expedition as possible.

They now entered into the large and populous province of *Zocathlan*, where in a valley at the foot of a mountain, was a city of the same name, in which the Cacique resided. *Cortes* sent two *Zempoallans* to inform this Prince of his arrival, who soon returned with a favourable answer. The Cacique came out of the city with a great retinue, and received the General with a kind of forced civility. The *Spaniards* here found very incommodious quarters, and only a small quantity of provisions. *Cortes* however concealed his resentment, in order to give that Prince no opportunity of engaging him in hostilities that would inevitably obstruct his march.

The

The next day the Cacique visited *Cortes* at his quarters, when the latter received him with great civility, and among other questions, asked whether he was subject to the Emperor of *Mexico*; when the other replied, is there any man upon earth, who is not a slave to *Motexuma*! To which *Cortes* scornfully replied, That he himself, and those who accompanied him, obeyed another King, who had many subjects more powerful than *Motexuma*. But the Cacique, without attending to these words, proceeded to display the grandeur of his Emperor, the provinces under his dominion, he said, were innumerable, and observed that he had many Lords who served bare-foot in his palace, with their eyes fixed on the ground; adding, that he resided in the largest, most beautiful, and strongest city in the universe, founded in the midst of lakes. He then expatiated upon the immensity of his riches, the strength of his armies, and the misery of his enemies, above 20,000 of whom were annually sacrificed on the altars of his Gods.

Cortes easily discovered the intent of his discourse, which had been dictated by the court of *Mexico*, to deter him from proceeding; but seeming not to penetrate into his design, he replied, that he was already informed of *Motexuma*'s grandeur, and that his Embassy being peaceable, his men were appointed rather to shew his authority, than as a martial guard; but yet the most inconsiderable *Spaniard* was able to overthrow a whole army of *Indians*. That he sought for peace; but if he was compelled to engage in war, he would destroy his enemies with fire and sword; for Nature would assist him with

her prodigies, and Heaven with its lightening. This rodemontade had a surprizing effect, and the Cacique was so over-awed by it, that he entirely altered his conduct, and supplied the *Spaniards* with provisions in great plenty, during the five days *Cortes* staid there, he even treated him with a prodigious respect, made him a present of four female slaves, and offered to give him twenty noble *Indians* for guides to his army.

Cortes now proceeded on his march to the province of *Tlascala*, that bordered upon *Zocathlan*, and for several days nothing considerable happened: but afterwards hearing that the whole country was in arms, he resolved to halt at a small town called *Xacaxingo*, till he should be better informed of their designs.

The province of *Tlascala* was about 50 leagues in circumference, and though the land was mountainous and uneven, it abounded with inhabitants. The capital was built upon different eminences. The people at first was governed by Kings, till growing weary of their tyranny, they shook off the yoke, and formed themselves into a commonwealth. The towns were divided into a certain number of districts, each of which sent a representative to *Tlascala*, where they formed a senate, whose resolutions were obeyed by the whole province. Under this form of government, they had long supported themselves against the Emperors of *Mexico*, and were then at their highest pitch of power; for *Motexuma's* cruelty had increased the number of their confederates, among whom was a warlike nation, called the *Otomies*, equally famed for their barbarity and their valour.

To

To this republic *Cortes* sent four of the principal *Zempoallans*, who were fully intrusted by *Aguilar* and *Marina*, how to address the Senate, in demanding a passage for the *Spaniards* through their territories. They instantly put on the appearance of Ambassadors, each wearing on his shoulder a wreathed cotton tippet knotted at the ends; in the right hand a large arrow, and on the left arm a target, formed of tortoise-shell. Upon these occasions, when the purport of the embassy was war, the feathers of the arrow were red; but when their errand was peace, they were white. By these symbols the Ambassadors were known and respected on the high roads; but if they turned aside they forfeited their privileges.

Cortes's four envoys on their entering *Tlascalala*, were conducted to a house set apart for the reception of Ambassadors, and the next day brought into the Senate, the members of which rose from their little chairs to bid them welcome. As the Ambassadors entered, they held up their arrows on high, and wore their tippets on their heads, as a mark of extraordinary veneration; then paying their respects to the Senate, they proceeded slowly to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled with their eyes fixed upon the ground, continuing silent till the eldest Senator desired them to declare their business. They then seated themselves upon their hams, and he who was chosen the Orator, expressed himself to the following purpose; " Noble Republic, Valiant *Tlascalans*, your friends and allies the Lord of *Zempoalla*, and the Mountain Caciques, wishing you health, abundance, and the destruction of your enemies, send us to

“ inform you, that an invincible race of men
 “ are come from the East, who seem to be
 “ more than human ; for they sail upon palaces,
 “ and wield the thunder and lightening. Yet
 “ they worship an almighty Being who is offend-
 “ ed at human sacrifices. The General is Am-
 “ bassador from a mighty Prince, who desires to
 “ reform the abuses of our country, and repress
 “ the tyranny of *Motexuma*. He has already
 “ rescued our provinces from oppression ; and
 “ as he means to pass through your territories
 “ in his way to *Mexico*, he desires to be inform-
 “ ed of your grievances, that he may redress
 “ your wrongs. We have experienced his va-
 “ lour, and in the name of our Caciques and
 “ confederates, desire you to entertain these
 “ strangers.” The speech being concluded, the
 four *Indians* raised themselves upon their knees,
 and making a profound reverence to the Senate,
 seated themselves again, expecting an answer.

After a short conference, the Senators told the
 Ambassadors, that they gratefully received the
 salutation of the confederates ; but must delibe-
 rate upon the answer to be returned to the
 strangers. The *Indians* then retired to their lodg-
 ing, when *Cortes's* demand produced very ob-
 stinate debates, some insisting upon repelling
 him by force of arms, and others proposing a
 compliance with his request. The chief of
 those who espoused pacific sentiments was an
 old Senator named *Magiscatzen*, a person of
 great authority in the republic, who reminded
 them of a prophecy, that an invincible race of
 men would come from the East, with such do-
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minion over the elements, that they should form floating cities upon the seas, and use fire and air to subdue the earth. These strangers he alledged were certainly the people foretold. They came from the East: their arms were fire, they dwelt in floating houses, and by their actions in *Tabasco* proved themselves invincible. He alledged that their arrival was predicted by signals from Heaven, which it were impious to disregard. That they had assisted their allies, and only desired a passage through their country, which they could not refuse without being guilty of incivility to those who had never injured them, and without disrespect to their allies, by whom they were so warmly recommended.

Magiscatzen's speech was received with applause; but the favourable dispositions he inspired were entirely changed by the interposition of *Xicotencal* their General, a young man animated by ambition, who with equal eloquence ridiculed the prophecy, and represented the *Spaniards* as common men, whose vessels and arms were produced by human art, whose valour was not uncommon, and whose pride, cruelty, and avarice were intolerable, since they contemned the laws and customs of the *Indians*, thirsted after their gold, destroyed their temples, and blasphemed their Gods; and that with respect to the signals of Heaven, they ought to be interpreted as warnings to oppose and extirpate those presumptuous strangers. He therefore earnestly intreated that they would allow him to assemble the forces, and exterminate them at once, as the oppressors of their country and the enemies of their religion.

These

These arguments had great weight with a people ambitious of military glory : they therefore ordered their General to try his strength with the Christians, but detained the Ambassadors.

Cortes, having waited eight days for the return of his Ambassadors, determined to continue his march towards the city of *Tlascala*, that in case they were resolved on hostilities, he might attack them before they were joined by their allies ; by which prudent resolution he prevented their obtaining time to guard a strong stone wall which was 20 feet thick, and 9 feet high, with a parapet upon the top ; it reached across the valley, extending from one mountain to another, and had no other entrance but in the middle, where the two ends circularly crossed each other for the space of ten paces, and might have easily been defended against all invaders. The *Spaniards* having passed this wall without opposition, marched in good order with their artillery ready, and with advanced parties to prevent surprize. These parties at length discovered 20 or 30 *Indians* at a considerable distance, who by their plumes appeared to be soldiers. *Cortes* instantly sent his scouts with signs of peace, while he himself prepared to follow with eight horse, giving orders for the infantry to advance at leisure ; but the *Indians* took to their heels, till having joined the main body, which was at some distance, they faced about, and stood in a posture of defence. The eight horse were now joined by six others, notwithstanding which the *Indians* stood their ground till they were reinforced by a body of 5000 men, who had lain in ambuscade.

ambuscade. At this instant the *Spanish* infantry came up, and formed themselves into a battalion, to sustain the fury with which the enemy advanced; but the first volley of the fire-arms doing great execution, threw the *Indians* into disorder. Of this the *Spaniards* taking advantage fell upon them with such resolution, that in a short time they quitted the field, leaving 60 men killed, and some prisoners taken by the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* was not willing to have his men engage in the pursuit, but took possession of some houses, that were in sight, in which they found a considerable quantity of provisions, and passed the night there.

The *Spaniards* proceeding on their march the next day, were opposed by a larger body of the enemy, which advanced with great noise, and having discharged a flight of arrows and a large quantity of stones from their slings, retreated, making a kind of running fight; but *Cortes* imagining that this retreat was only a stratagem, followed in close order, till having reached the top of a hill, he discovered a plain, where was an army of about 40,000 men, composed of various nations, distinguished by the colours of their ensigns and plumes. The *Spaniards* boldly marched down the hill; formed on the even ground, and moved on to the attack, while the *Indians* still retired, till finding them at a distance from the hill, they opened to the right and left, and ran furiously to occupy the ground on both sides, and then closing in a circle, surrounded the *Spaniards*, who found it necessary to throw themselves into the form of an hollow square,

in

in order to sustain the fury of the assailants. The air was soon darkened with the arrows, darts and stones, which fell upon the *Spaniards*, till the *Indians* observing the little effect of these missive weapons, boldly attacked them with their pikes and swords. But the artillery swept down whole companies; the small arms killed them in heaps, and *Cortes* breaking in among them with his horse, slew and trampled under foot all that came in his way. At length *Cortes* seeing the enemy fall back, placed his horse on the wings, and being accompanied by the foot, charged them with redoubled vigour. They at first made a show of resistance; but the men on horseback seeming supernatural, put them into disorder, and they soon began to give way on all sides; while in this confusion they wounded and trod one another under foot. During the battle *Pedro de Moron* who was mounted on horseback, was surrounded and taken by the *Indians*, after having received several wounds; but though he was soon released by the rest of the cavalry, his horse was killed.

By this time the *Spaniards* were greatly fatigued, and began to be dubious of success, when the cries of the enemy suddenly ceased, and this silence was followed by the noise of horns and drums sounding a retreat. The enemy then moving off slowly, left the field to the Christians: But notwithstanding the loss of most of their officers, they entered their quarters in triumph, with the horses head carried as a trophy before the General, who sent it to *Tlascala*, where it was sacrificed with extraordinary

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nary solemnity in one of the temples. Nine or ten of the *Spanish* soldiers, and many of the *Zempoallans*, who were fired by the example of the *Spaniards*, were wounded in this battle, which was no sooner over, than *Cortes* observing a small town on an eminence that commanded the country, marched thither, and had the satisfaction of finding it well supplied with provisions: but there not being sufficient room to accommodate the whole army, the *Zempoallans* erected huts for themselves, and raised some works of earth to secure the place, notwithstanding its being strong and of difficult access.

The sentiments of the *Tlascalans* were still divided; for while some cried out for peace, others were equally eager for continuing the war: *Xicotencal* demanded supplies to revenge the loss they had suffered, and one of the confederates arriving at the same time with 10,000 men, this succour encouraged them to prosecute the war with fresh vigour. In the mean time the four *Zempoallan* Ambassadors returned by different ways to the *Spaniards*, and informed *Cortes*, that as soon as *Xicotencal* took the field, they were put in a prison, and destined by the *Tlascalans* as sacrifices to the God of war, but that they had happily found means to make their escape.

Though a profound stillness reigned throughout the country, *Cortes* was far from imagining that he was out of danger of being again attacked by the *Tlascalans*, he therefore resolved to maintain his post; but foreseeing the *Indians* would interpret his inaction as proceeding from
fear,

fear, he resolved the next morning to reconnoitre the country, in order to gain intelligence; and therefore marched out with all his horse and 200 foot, which equally consisted of *Spaniards* and *Zempoallans*. He advanced as far as some villages in the road to *Tlascala*, where he found great store of provisions, and made several prisoners, by whom he was informed that *Xicotencal* was encamped about two leagues from thence, and employed in recruiting and augmenting his army.

The *Zempoallans* being now highly incensed against the *Tlascalans*, *Cortes* permitted them to destroy the country with fire and sword, and then returned to the camp, where he set at liberty all his prisoners, and among those who had been taken the day before, he chose two or three to carry a message to *Xicotencal*, in which he expressed his concern for the loss he had sustained in the battle, which his nation had brought upon themselves by rejecting the peaceable terms he had offered them; and desired that he would now consent to an accommodation, otherwise he should make the name of *Tlascala* a terror to its neighbours. The prisoners at their departure promised to bring him an answer; and a few hours after they kept their word; but returned bloody and mangled by *Xicotencal's* order, for presuming to deliver such a message; with an answer that *Xicotencal* would meet the Christians as soon as the sun arose, when he did not doubt but that he should carry them alive to the altars of his Gods, and that to shew how little he feared him, he gave him notice of his resolution, that he might have time to prepare himself.

Cortes.

Cortes, though piqued at *Xicotencal*'s insolence, would not neglect his advice : but at day break drew his troops into the field, leaving such a force in the town as he thought necessary for its defence, and having advanced about half a league, took possession of a spot where he could receive the enemy with advantage. He there formed his men, secured his flanks with the artillery, and put himself at the head of the horse, in order to bring succour wherever it should be wanted. In a short time the scouts returned with intelligence, that the enemy were upon their march, and soon after they appeared, when their number amounted to above 50,000 men, consisting of the whole strength of the republic and its allies. They displayed a large golden eagle, which was the ensign of *Tlascala*, and was never brought into the field, but upon the greatest undertakings, and at first seemed to advance with equal expedition and intrepidity. On their coming within cannon shot, the artillery filled them with such terror that they halted for some time ; but at length rushed forward in a throng till they were near enough to use their slings and arrows, when they were a second time stopt by the discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows. But at length perceiving the slaughter that was made among them by the *Spaniards* and *Zempoallans*, they burst upon them like a torrent, and broke their ranks by mere dint of weight and multitude : they however, formed again by bearing down all that did not give way to their efforts. At this instant a great disturbance appeared among the enemy, whose troops moved to and fro, and turned their

arms against each other, till at length they retired in a tumultuous manner.

The cause of this disturbance and retreat was afterwards found to be owing to the insolence of *Xicotencal* in upbraiding one of the confederate Caciques with cowardice, for not advancing when they rest were engaged. The *Indian* chief, who had 10,000 men under his command, returned an angry answer, which being followed by a challenge, the other Caciques espoused their friend's quarrel, and immediately retired. Upon which *Xicotencal*, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and having seen a great number of his people slain upon the spot, left the field.

It is said that *Cortes* lost only a single soldier on this occasion, however several of the men were very much discouraged at their having been put into disorder, and loudly declared, that they would not sacrifice their lives to *Cortes's* obstinacy, but return by themselves to *Vera Cruz*, and leave him alone to follow the dictates of his ambition. This spirit of mutiny made it necessary for *Cortes* to assemble the soldiers, when he put them in mind that they had already vanquished the *Tlascalans*, who would certainly sue for peace, so that they should proceed to *Mexico*, with the additional reputation of conquering so warlike a people: But that their retreat would bring them into disgrace, and endanger their total destruction. In short he exerted his eloquence with such success, that one of the mutineers cried aloud, "Fellow soldiers! our general
" is in the right, we cannot now retire without
" being

"being inevitably lost," and this opinion was immediately assented to by the whole army.

Mean while the *Tlascalans* were so intimidated by the ill success of the second battle, that they cried aloud for peace with the strangers, whom they esteemed invincible. But the senate concluding they were magicians, resolved to oppose enchantment against enchantment, and therefore consulted their wizards, who now pretended to have discovered the cause of their defeat, and asserted that the *Spaniards* were the offspring of the sun, whence they derived a superior power from the warmth of his beams; but that when he disappeared they remained weak and dispirited. Hence they proposed that they should be attacked by night, and utterly destroyed before they could be re-animated by the beams of their father. This absurd piece of intelligence the senate communicated to *Xicotencal*, with orders to execute it, and he immediately began to prepare for taking his measures accordingly.

Mean while *Cortes* took particular care to preserve the strictest discipline: centinels were constantly posted at a distance from the town. The guards were regularly mounted and relieved, and the soldiers rested upon their arms. These precautions were of the utmost consequence: for on the night destined for the attack, the out-centinels discovered a body of the enemy marching towards the town with unusual slowness and silence, when notice being given of their approach, the soldiers manned the works without noise or confusion, and cheerfully waited to give them a warm reception. *Xicotencal*

had 10,000 men under his command, whom he ordered to attack the quarters on three sides at once, which they did with equal speed and resolution; but they met with such a powerful and unexpected resistance, that many were slain, and the rest were the more terrified from their having been confident that they should find the *Spaniards* weak and unprepared. *Xicotencal* was now sensible of the delusion of the forcerers; but animated by rage he returned with double fury to the assault. His *Indians* assisted each other to climb over the wall, and for a considerable time one party succeeded, as another was slain, till at length the general seeing it impracticable to carry his point, ordered the signal to be sounded for a retreat. *Cortes* no sooner perceived them retiring from the wall, than he sent out part of his infantry, and all his horse, furnished with breast-plates full of bells, to charge the *Indians*, who were so terrified at the unusual noise, that they fled in confusion, leaving a considerable number of dead, and some wounded, whom they were in too great a hurry to carry off. This victory was obtained by the loss of one man, who was a *Zempoallan*.

The news of this disappointment soon reached *Tlascala*, when the inhabitants unanimously demanded peace, and justice against the magicians for having deceived them. The senate assembling, agreed to punish the impostors, two of whom were immediately sacrificed to their gods, and to apply to the strangers for forgiveness, now firmly believing that they were the celestial people mentioned in the prophecy. Mean while a messenger

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messenger was sent to inform *Xicotencal* of the senate's resolution; but that General being exasperated against the *Spaniards*, from whom he longed to retrieve his honour, absolutely refused to comply, and resolved to make a second assault by night; but in order to know the nature and strength of their fortifications, he employed 40 soldiers to enter the *Spanish* quarters among the neighbouring peasants, who resorted thither to exchange provisions for baubles. These spies had spent the greatest part of the morning among the *Spaniards* unsuspected, till a *Zempoallan*, who had observed one of them narrowly examining the fortifications, communicated his suspicion to *Cortes*, who instantly ordered him to be put to the torture, when he made a full confession, in consequence of which his comrades were apprehended, and the whole scheme discovered. The general then caused fifteen of the most obstinate of these spies to be punished, some by losing a hand, and others their thumbs, and then dismissed them to tell *Xicotencal* that he was prepared for his coming, and had sent his spies alive that they might acquaint him with the situation of his works.

At this bloody spectacle the *Indian* army was struck with horror and astonishment, and their message made a deep impression on the general's mind. He now began to think that the *Spaniards* could not have discovered his design without a supernatural information: but while he was reflecting on this subject, he was accosted by several persons, sent by the senate to divest him of his command.

The *Spaniards* expected an attack all that night and the next day; but on the succeeding morning the advanced centinels perceived four persons of rank adorned with white feathers in token of peace, and followed by thirty *Indians* loaded with provisions. As they approached, they frequently halted, as if afraid to advance, and then bowing their bodies, touched the earth with their hands, and applied them to their lips, as a testimony of humility and veneration. *Marina* appearing upon the wall, asked for what purpose they were coming, and they answering that they came from the senate and republic of *Tlascala* to treat of peace, they were allowed to enter, and being introduced to *Cortes*, they apologized for what was past, sued for peace, and earnestly intreated him to march to their city, where the *Spaniards* should be served and respected as the children of the sun, and the brothers of the gods. *Cortes*, however, treated them with an affected severity, and told them, that considering the methods they had taken to incur his displeasure, they ought to look upon their admission to his presence as a mark of his condescension: that however peace was agreeable to his inclinations, and he would endeavour to appease the anger of his captains.



C H A P. VII.

Cortes receives an Embassy from Motezuma; he makes his Entrance into Tlascala; after which Diego de Ordaz visits the Volcano of Popocatepec. Cortes at length receives an Embassy from Mexico, and marches to Cholula, where a Scheme is laid for his Destruction, which is discovered by the Address of Marina. He leaves Cholula; baffles the treacherous Designs of the Mexicans; is visited by the Cacique of Tezeaco, and arrives at that City, whence he marches to Iztapalapa.

AS Motezuma had intelligence of every thing that passed, he was greatly alarmed at Cortes's success against the *Tlascalans*, apprehending that should they unite their forces, they might be able to overturn his whole empire. Yet instead of assembling an army in his own defence, he sent another present to Cortes, by Ambassadors who were ordered to divert him from his intended journey, to watch over his actions, and if possible to prevent a reconciliation between him and the *Tlascalans*. Five *Mexicans* of the first rank, who were charged with this embassy, arrived in the *Spanish* quarters, soon after the ministers of the republic had departed, and were favourably received by Cortes, who accepted of the present; but would not dispatch them immediately, as he was desirous of having them see the *Tlascalans* humbled: and indeed they had no inclination to depart,

part, till they had accomplished the real design of their embassy.

In the mean time the republic caused the neighbouring villages to furnish the *Spanish* army with provisions gratis, and in two days *Cortes* was visited by *Xicotencal* at the head of 50 noblemen of his party, who attended him with the ensigns of peace. He was well made, above the middle stature, and had a countenance that commanded respect. He wore a white mantle adorned with jewels, and behaved before *Cortes* with the free air of a soldier. He began his speech by frankly owning that he was the cause of the war, from his believing that the *Spaniards* were friends to *Motexuma*, whom he hated, but was now come to put himself into the hands of his conqueror, hoping by this submission to obtain pardon for his country, and the return of peace; he also intreated him to enter the city, where quarters should be provided for his men, and desired that the inhabitants might be well used, and their gods and wives protected from violence. *Cortes* complained, in the hearing of the *Mexican* ambassadors, with some vehemence, of the unjust war they had carried on, granted the peace, and promised that no violence should be committed by the soldiers. At *Xicotencal*'s departure he gave him his hand, and told him that he would return the visit after he had dispatched *Motexuma*'s ambassadors.

The *Mexicans* made a jest of the peace, and pretended that the *Tlascalans* only sought to lull him into security, in order with the greater ease to destroy him and his soldiers. But find-
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ing that he was fixed in his resolution to grant them a peace, they desired him to delay his march to *Tlascala* for six days, promising to send two of their number to *Mexico*, to inform their prince of that transaction, who would return within that time, while the rest should stay to expect his resolution; and as *Cortes* did not think proper to break with *Motexuma*, he consented to this request.

Within the appointed time the ambassadors returned, accompanied by six persons of high rank with a splendid retinue, bearing another present of greater value than the former, declaring that *Motexuma* desired to be the friend and confederate of the great sovereign of the *Spaniards*, and would pay him an annual tribute, provided they would enter into no league with the *Tlascalans*, and lay aside their design of coming to *Mexico*.

But *Cortes* being resolved that these ambassadors should be witness of the peace with *Tlascala*, postponed his answer, resolving to detain them as long as he could, to give *Motexuma* the less time to prepare for hostilities. These embassies so greatly alarmed the *Tlascalans*, that the government came to a resolution to visit *Cortes* in the form of a senate, in order to convince him of their sincerity, and break off his negotiation with the *Mexicans*. They accordingly arrived in solemn procession, carried upon the shoulders of inferior officers, and followed by numerous attendants. *Cortes* received them with his usual state and civility, and after they were seated, was addressed by the father of *Xicotencal*, a blind old man of a venerable aspect,
who

who told him, that the senate of *Tlascala* were come to sue for peace on his own terms; to dissuade him from entering into a league with the tyrant *Motexuma*, and intreated him to honour their city with his presence. *Cortes* assured him, that he would march to *Tlascala*, whenever the people of the neighbouring villages were ready to conduct his baggage and artillery. The next morning 500 tamines, or carriers, appeared at his quarters, and having made the proper dispositions, he immediately began his march. The fields were filled with vast multitudes of people, who came to behold the fight, and made such outcries and gesticulations, as were mistaken by the *Spaniards* for threats of war, till they were informed by *Marina*, that in this manner the *Indians* expressed their joy at their festivals.

The *Spaniards* were received by the senators and nobles, at a considerable distance from the town, who, having paid their respects to the general, turned about and marched before. The city at their entrance resounded with shouts, acclamations, and the disagreeable noise of their horns, pipes, and drums. The croud was so great, that the magistrates could scarcely keep the passage free. Some of the women threw flowers on the *Spaniards*, while others who were more bold, put nosegays in their hands. The priests, clothed in long garments, came with their copper censers, offering incense to them as they passed, and all the spectators seemed to be filled with awe, admiration, and joy. Quarters were provided for them in a large edifice, which had three or four spacious courts,

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and a great number of rooms ; in this building the whole army was conveniently lodged, and there *Motexuma's* ambassadors were secure under the protection of the *Spaniards*.

As *Cortes* knew the warlike character of the people among whom he lived, he observed the utmost circumspection ; a guard was regularly kept in his quarters ; he never appeared abroad, without a number of attendants well armed, and the soldiers never appeared but in companies, with their fire-arms on their shoulders. These marks of distrust greatly mortified the *Tlascalans*, and *Magiscatzin*, being sent by the senate to complain of it to *Cortes*, observed, that his soldiers by appearing in the city with lightning on their shoulders, gave more offence by such a mark of suspicion than they would do by committing real acts of violence. *Cortes* assured him, that he was well convinced of the sincerity and good will of the republic, and that his soldiers appearing in arms was one of the effects of that discipline which had rendered the *Spaniards* invincible. With this reply the senate were satisfied, and the *Spaniards* received daily proofs of the fidelity and friendship of their new allies. They were entertained with plenty of provisions, and presents were poured in upon them from all quarters. Notwithstanding which, *Cortes's* zeal made him resolve to destroy all their idols ; but it soon was moderated by the charity of father *de Olmedo*, who told him that persecution but ill agreed with the doctrines of the gospel, and that their conversion required time and gentle usage. However he prevailed with the *Tlascalans* to desist from human sacrifices,

fices, as being in the highest degree shocking to nature, and to set at liberty those miserable wretches who were fed in cages, in order to be the victims of their inhuman worship.

The peace being established, and the senate of *Tlascala* having sworn allegiance to the King of Spain, *Cortes* dismissed the Mexican ambassadors, whom he desired to inform *Moteczuma* of what had passed in their presence, of the solicitations and fidelity of the *Tlascalans*, over whom he had now such influence, that he hoped in time to bring them under the obedience of the Emperor of Mexico, and of his resolution to continue his march, in order to confer with their prince on that, as well as on other important subjects.

While *Cortes* still continued at *Tlascalia*, receiving homage in the name of *Charles V.* from the different towns and confederates of the republic, the inhabitants were alarmed by a surprising irruption of fire from the volcano of *Pōpocatepec*, an high mountain at eight leagues distance from the city, which filled the people with terror and consternation; for they ridiculously imagined it to be a presage of future misfortunes, and supposed that the sparks of fire were the souls of tyrants sent abroad by the offended deities to chastise the earth.

While *Magiscatzin* and some of the principal noblemen were rehearsing these idle fancies to *Cortes*, *Diego de Ordaz* came to ask leave to ascend the mountain, in order to gratify his curiosity. The *Indians*, astonished at his proposal, endeavoured to persuade him from engaging in
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such a dangerous enterprize, and observed, that the boldest men of their nation had never ventured beyond some hermitages of their gods, about the middle of the eminence, and that dreadful roarings and tremblings forbad all approach to its summit. This account increased the eagerness of *Diego de Ordaz*, and *Cortes* granted his request, in order to afford the *Tlascalans* a fresh proof of the superior courage of the *Spaniards*.

Ordaz therefore set out on this expedition attended by two soldiers, and some of the principal *Indians*, who offered to attend him as far as the hermitages. He found the bottom of the mountain beautified on all sides with green trees, which extended a considerable way up the ascent. The earth then grew barren by degrees. The *Indians* stopped at their hermitages, to which they never expected to see the *Spaniards* return, and *Diego de Ordaz*, with his companions, proceeded, climbing among the rocks, which were whitened by snow and the ashes discharged from the volcano, and at length reached a place at a small distance from the summit, where they felt the earth move violently under them, and heard a dreadful roaring issue from the mouth of the volcano, which with redoubled noise discharged a vast quantity of fire and smoke, that darted upwards to a great height. The *Spaniards* were instantly covered with a shower of hot ashes, which obliged them to seek for shelter in the hollow of a rock, where they were almost stifled. *Diego de Ordaz* however perceiving that the earthquake was passed, encouraged the soldiers, by his example, to prosecute this discovery, till they came within

fight of the mouth of the volcano, which was about a quarter of a league in circumference; they observed at the bottom a large quantity of inflammable matter, which boiled up like some shining metal in fusion. With this account they returned safe, to the astonishment of the *Indians*, whose esteem for the *Spaniards* was increased by this adventure, which afterwards proved of signal service; for *Ordaz* found a large quantity of sulphur in the mountain, of which *Cortes* made gunpowder, when it was much wanted by the army.

Cortes having continued twenty days at *Tlascal*, during which he was entertained with all possible marks of respect, declared his resolution of proceeding for *Cholula*, in which he was opposed by the *Tlascalans*, who endeavoured to strengthen some arguments that had been before urged by the *Zempoallans*, by declaring that *Cholula* was a sacred place, in which were 400 temples, and such malevolent gods, that they terrified the world with prodigies; that he ought not, therefore, to enter their territories, without an assurance of their being propitious. Just about this time new ambassadors arrived from *Motexuma*, bringing another present, and that Prince's permission for the *Spaniards* to proceed by the way of *Cholula*, where he had provided quarters for the reception of the army. The *Tlascalans* immediately concluded, that there was treachery in the case, and *Magiscatzin* repeated his remonstrances with such marks of concern, that *Cortes* called a council in his presence, in which it was agreed, that it was impossible to avoid the road proposed by the Emperor

peror of *Mexico*, without discovering a suspicion of his sincerity, that whether this suspicion was well or ill founded, it would not be proper to disclose it, and that it would be equally dangerous to leave enemies behind them. Whence it was necessary for them to go to *Cholula* to discover *Moteczuma's* intentions, and to obtain new reputation by chastizing his subjects for their perfidy.

Indeed *Moteczuma* being terrified at the victories of the *Spaniards*, and ashamed of employing his armies against such an handful of men, had actually resolved to destroy them by artifice, and had chosen *Cholula* for that purpose. Yet the inhabitants of that city were such novices in dissimulation, that they neglected sending deputies to *Cortes*, who therefore complained to the *Mexican* ambassadors of this mark of disrespect, and even when they were informed of his displeasure, they sent four persons with such mean equipage, that he refused to admit them into his presence. *Cortes* on the day of his departure, drew up the *Spaniards* and the *Zempoallan* auxiliaries, and was much surprized to find the whole force of the republic and her allies ready in the field, distinguished by the colour of their feathers, and their different ensigns; but *Cortes* insisted upon taking only 6000 of the republic's troops, with which he began his march to *Cholula*. That city was about five leagues distant from *Tlascala*, and the same evening he halted near a river, within three miles of the place, which he was unwilling to enter by night. He was there visited by deputies from the city of distinguished rank, who brought a present of provisions, and excusing them-

themselves for not waiting upon him at *Tlascala*, on account of his being there in the midst of their enemies, welcomed him and his people to their city. Though *Cortes* was far from being convinced of their sincerity, he admitted of their excuse, and the next morning proceeded towards *Cholula*, where he was met by the Caciques and Priests, attended by a multitude of unarmed people, who had the appearance of being filled with reverence and joy ; but they no sooner perceived the body of *Tlascalans* that marched in the rear, than a disagreeable murmur was heard among the chiefs ; upon which *Marina* was ordered to ask the reason of it, when she returned with an answer, that the *Tlascalans* being their enemies, could not enter the city in arms, wherefore they earnestly intreated, that he would order them to return. *Cortes* was disconcerted at this demand, he however desired the *Tlascalans* to lie without the city, to which they agreed, and they took up their lodgings in a place from which they might easily come to the assistance of the *Spaniards*, in case of necessity. In short, *Cortes* entered *Cholula* amidst the acclamations of the people, and with all the marks of respect shewn to the *Spaniards* at their entrance into *Tlascala*.

The city of *Cholula* stood in an open and delightful plain, and was much frequented by strangers, on account of its being a sanctuary of the gods, and its carrying on a considerable trade. The streets were spacious, the buildings larger and more beautiful than those of *Tlascala*, and a great number of the sumptuous towers, which adorned the city, shewed the multitude

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of their temples. It contained 20,000 inhabitants within the walls, and an equal number in the suburbs; but as they chiefly consisted of mechanics and merchants, they were esteemed more cunning than warlike. The quarters appointed for the *Spaniards* were three or four large edifices, contiguous to each other, and sufficient to contain both the *Spaniards* and the *Zempoallans*. The *Tlascalans* chose a place at a small distance from the town, which they secured with some works, formed guards, and placed centinels, in imitation of their *European* friends, from whom they had obtained some knowledge in the art of war.

In the first three or four days, there was the greatest appearance of tranquillity and friendship, but after that time provisions grew gradually scarce, and an intire stop was put to the entertainments of the *Caciques*. The priests and *Motexuma's* ambassadors held private conferences, and the people began to look upon the *Spaniards* with an air of scorn and distaste. This naturally awakened the jealousy of the latter, and *Cortes* was endeavouring to penetrate into the intentions of the *Cholulans*, when the whole design was accidentally discovered. *Marina* had contracted a friendship with an old *Indian* woman of distinction, who coming one morning to her apartment, begged, with great earnestness, that she would immediately forsake those abominable strangers, and live with her. *Marina* perceiving that there was something extraordinary in this request, bemoaned her captivity, and acted her part so well, that the *Cholulan*, believing her sincere, told her

that there was no time to be lost, for the *Spaniards* were devoted to destruction; that *Motexuma* had sent 20,000 *Mexicans* to secure the success of the design, of which 6000 chosen men had already entered the city in small parties: that a great quantity of arms was distributed among the inhabitants, who had carried stones up to the tops of their houses, and cut deep trenches across the streets, in which were fixed sharp stakes, which were slightly covered with earth, for the destruction of the horses: that the Emperor of *Mexico* had resolved to exterminate all the Christians; but had given orders that some of them should be taken alive, to satisfy his curiosity and zeal for religion, and that he had made the city of *Cholula* a present of a gold drum to excite their courage. *Marina*, on obtaining this intelligence, pretended that she was ready to attend her deliverer, and would only go and fetch her jewels; but immediately hastened to *Cortes*, and told him the whole affair, upon which the *Indian* woman was seized, and by threats engaged to make a particular confession of the whole. He was at the same time informed by some *Tlascalan* soldiers, who entered the city in the disguise of peasants, that they had seen the *Cholulans* carrying their women and effects to the neighbouring villages; and, in short, obtained intelligence from several other persons, which put the affair beyond all doubt.

Cortes now thought it necessary to justify his conduct by the testimony of some unexceptionable witnesses among the citizens themselves, and therefore sent for three of the chief priests, and discour-
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sing with them separately, complained of their treachery, and mentioned all the particulars of their design. When believing that he was indued with the power of penetrating into the thoughts of men, they acknowledged the truth, and charged *Motexuma* with being the author of the whole contrivance. These priests were then secretly imprisoned, and *Motexuma's* Ambassadors excluded from all communication with the people. *Cortes* ordering his captains to assemble, laid before them the whole conspiracy, and proposed a scheme for punishing the *Cholulans*, to which they unanimously consented. Agreeably to this plan, he let the magistrates know that he should depart the next day; demanded provisions for his march, *Indians* to carry his burdens, and with a view of disuniting their forces, required a reinforcement of 2000 armed men to join the *Tlascalans* and *Zempoallans*, which they cheerfully granted, in order to introduce concealed enemies among his troops, whom they could use as occasion should offer. The *Tlascalans* were then ordered to draw near the city at day-break, and to enter the town and join the *Spaniards* and *Zempoallans* at the first discharge of the fire-arms. At night having secured the quarters with guards and centinels, he sent for *Motexuma's* Ambassadors, and told them that he had discovered a conspiracy formed against him by the Caciques and citizens of *Cholula*, whom he was resolved to punish, not only for their perfidious breach of hospitality, but for their pretending that they had received orders and assistance from *Motexuma*, and that he

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was not so much provoked at their treacherous intentions towards him, as at their presuming to lay their crime to the charge of the emperor. The Ambassadors appeared overwhelmed with terror and confusion, pretended to be ignorant of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to save *Motexuma's* credit, while *Cortes* rejoiced at this opportunity of defeating the arts of the *Mexican* prince, and at the same time raising the reputation of his arms.

Early in the morning came the carriers with some provisions, though in a small quantity, and afterwards a greater number of armed *Indians* than *Cortes* had demanded. These he secured in several parts of his quarters, on pretence of forming his battalions in the usual manner. Then putting his men in order, and mounting his horse, he sent for the *Caciques*, and when they appeared, told them in a loud and angry voice, That as he had discovered their conspiracy, he would so severely punish them, that they should repent of their treachery. Scarce had he began to speak when they hastened away with great expedition to join their own forces, insulting him with threats and abuse, which they uttered as they fled. *Cortes* then commanded his infantry to fall upon the soldiers, whom he had kept divided in the squares of his quarters, all of whom were soon destroyed, except a few who threw themselves from the walls and escaped. This bloody slaughter being ended, he gave the signal for the *Tlascalans* to advance, and then marched slowly into the principal street, having first left a guard in the quarters, and detached some *Zempoallans* to discover the trenches,

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in order that the horse might escape the danger. In the mean time the *Cholulans* called in the *Mexicans*, and entering a large square in which were three temples, posted a number of men in the porches, and tops of the towers, while the rest were divided into several bodies to engage the *Spaniards*. Just as *Cortes's* troops entered this square, and the charge was given, the *Tlascalans* closed with the enemies rear, and threw them into such disorder, that they neither knew how to fly nor to defend themselves, so that they fell in heaps without resistance. The terraces and steps of the temples were so crowded with armed men, that they could scarce turn themselves, or find room to fix their arrows; when *Cortes* advancing to the largest temple, commanded his interpreters to proclaim a pardon and free passage to all who would come down and surrender themselves; but this proffer, though twice repeated, being rejected by all but one *Indian*, he caused the artillery to play upon the temples, so that great numbers perished in their ruins. And all the other temples being destroyed in the same manner, there were above six thousand of the natives and *Mexicans* slain. The *Tlascalans* having pillaged the town, *Cortes* assigned them lodgings without the city, and then retired to his own quarters, where ordering the principal persons of the town, who had been taken prisoners, together with the priests and *Indian* woman, whom he had kept confined, to be brought before him, he expressed his concern at their having obliged him to inflict so severe a punishment upon the city, published a general pardon, and desired the *Caciques* to call
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back the fugitives. The Ambassadors congratulated *Cortes* on his success, and the citizens being encouraged by his offers of peace, returned to their houses, and opened their shops, so that the tumult immediately subsided.

The day after the action, *Xicotencal* arrived at the head of 20,000 men, which the *Tlascalans* had sent to the assistance of the *Spaniards*: but *Cortes* having returned them his acknowledgments, informed their general, that he would soon begin his march to *Mexico*, and that it would be improper to exasperate *Motexuma*, by bringing such a number of his declared enemies into his dominions: when *Xicotencal* acknowledging the justice of this observation, promised to retire, and to keep the troops in readiness in case he should have occasion for them. But before their departure, *Cortes* brought about a peace between the republic and *Cholula*, by which means he opened a way for the *Tlascalans* to supply him with succours, and removed all impediments to his retreat.

Some of the *Zempoallans* now desiring leave to return home, *Cortes* granted their request and took this opportunity of sending some presents to their Cacique, and at the same time sent *Juan de Escalante* a short account of his success, desiring him to strengthen *Vera Cruz* with additional fortifications, in order to secure it from the restless ambition of *Diego Velasquez*.

About this time new ambassadors arrived from the Emperor of *Mexico*, who had been informed, of all that had passed at *Cholula*, and being willing to escape the suspicion of having had any concern in the affair, not only thanked *Cortes* for chastising-

chastising those traitors; but sent him a present of great value, by which means he thought to lead the *Spaniards* into a blind security, that they might the easier fall into a snare he had prepared for them.

Cortes having staid fourteen days at *Cbolula*, proceeded towards *Mexico*, and the first night lodged in a village, to which the chiefs of the neighbouring towns repaired with presents. From them *Cortes* heard the same complaints of *Moteczuma* as in the more distant provinces, and was informed that the *Mexicans* had placed a considerable ambuscade on the other side of a mountain he was to pass the next day; that they had stopped up the high road, and opened another which ended in precipices, and that the *Spanish* army when perplexed with difficulties, was to be suddenly charged, where their horses could be of no service, and the foot have no room to form. *Cortes*, though highly incensed at this piece of treachery, stifled his resentment, and the next day prosecuted his march over a very craggy mountain, adjoining to the *Volcano*, proceeding with great caution. When he had reached the top, he perceived the two roads which had been described to him, and turning with great composure to the *Mexican* Ambassadors, he asked the reason why one of them was blocked up with trees and stones, and the other but newly made. To which they answered, that the new road was levelled for his convenience, and the other stopped up, on account of its being more steep and difficult. *Cortes* reply'd, "You are but little acquainted with the genius of our nation, for we will march in this road for no other rea-
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“soon than its difficulty.” He then desired his *Indian* friends to march before, and remove the obstacles to his passage, which to the amazement of the Ambassadors was soon done, for they never dreamt that he suspected their design. When the *Indians* in ambuscade observed that the *Spaniards* marched in the royal road, they concluded that they were discovered, and began to retire in great disorder; while *Cortes* descended, without opposition, into the plain, and passed the night in some houses built for the reception of the *Mexican* merchants, who resorted to the fairs of *Cebula*.

In the mean time *Motexuma* being dispirited by these disappointments, grew daily more and more devout; resorted to the temples; increased the number of human sacrifices, and at length assembling his magicians, ordered them upon pain of death to set out to meet the *Spaniards*, and either to stupify or overcome them by the force of their enchantments. In compliance with this command, a considerable number of necromancers set out, but having performed their incantations without success returned to *Motexuma*, and told him, that the God *Telcatlepuca*, from whom famine and plagues proceeded, had appeared to them in a garment girt with a robe of wicker, declaring that *Motexuma's* ruin was decreed, and the dissolution of the Empire at hand. The superstitious King was struck dumb with this report, till at length recovering his speech, he cried, “If our Gods forsake us, let the strangers come. It would be dishonourable to turn our backs upon misfortunes,” and then after a short pause, added, “I lament the old men,
“ women

“ women and children who cannot defend themselves.” From this moment he began to prepare for the entertainment of the *Spaziards*. All the discourse of *Mexico* turned upon their astonishing actions, and the prodigies by which their coming had been foretold, and these topics of conversation produced a prepossession that was absolutely necessary to enable such a handful of men to penetrate to the very court of such a powerful Prince.

Cortes having passed the mountain, advanced the following day to a village in the jurisdiction of *Chalco*, where he was visited by the principal Cacique of the province, and others in that neighbourhood, who brought him provisions and other presents, and when unobserved by the *Mexican* Ambassadors complained of *Motexuma's* tyranny, the weight of their taxes, and his taking their women to gratify his lust, and that of his ministers, by which means the wife found no protection in the bed of her husband, nor the daughter in the arms of her mother.

The next day *Cortes* pursued his march four leagues thro' a delightful country, adorned with groves and beautiful gardens, till he arrived at a village built on a creek of the great lake, where he chose to take up his lodging. Thither the *Mexicans* resorted with their arms and military ornaments, in such numbers as raised *Cortes's* suspicions; when in order to keep them at a proper distance, he caused some fire-arms and pieces of artillery to be fired in the air, at which they were so terrified, that they hastily retired. However he was visited in the morning by one of

Moteczuma's nephews, who was Lord of *Texeuco*; he was a young man, had an agreeable person, and was carried on the shoulders of some of his servants, in a chair adorned with a variety of feathers curiously diversified. He no sooner alighted, than his servants went before to sweep the ground, and keep back the people on each side. *Cortes* going to the door of his apartment received him with a low bow, which the Prince returned by touching the earth, and then his lips with his right hand, which salutation being passed, he sat down, and with an easy air welcomed him and all his Captains; spoke of *Moteczuma's* amicable disposition, and mentioned the difficulties that opposed his going to *Mexico*, on account of that year's barrenness, by which the people were much distressed, so that strangers could be but ill accommodated where the natives wanted necessaries. To which *Cortes* replied, that the King his master having some important reasons for offering his friendship to *Moteczuma*, he, his servant, with great respect accepted the liberty he had received of delivering his Embassy, without being in pain for the present scarcity, since the *Spaniards* required but little nourishment, and even despised the inconveniencies which afflicted men of an inferior species. The Emperor's nephew then received a present of some false jewels made of glass, at which he shewed great signs of joy, and having accompanied the army as far as *Texeuco*, the capital of his dominions, proceeded to *Mexico*, to give an account of his Embassy.

The city of *Texeuco* was one of the largest in the Empire, and in grandeur was but little inferior



Cortés meets Motecuma at Mexico.

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ferior to *Mexico* itself. It extended along the banks of a spacious lake, at the beginning of the *Mexican* causeway. The houses were very beautiful and the streets regular, and what was still more extraordinary, fresh water was brought in pipes to every house. *Cortes* pursued his march over the causeway, which was twenty feet broad, and composed of stone, and in the midway came to another town of about 2000 houses, called *Quitlawaca*, which was founded in the water, whence it afterwards obtained the name of *Venezuela* or *Little Venice*. Here the Cacique, attended by a splendid retinue, came out to meet him, and pressed him to honour his city with spending the night there. To which he thought proper to consent; for he began to suspect that the *Mexicans* might break the Causeway or obstruct his march by taking away the bridges. From this place the *Spaniards* had a view of the greatest part of the lake, which was beautified with towns, adorned with towers and pinnacles, gardens and causeways, that seemed to float upon the water. The battlements of the houses were filled with people; multitudes of *Indians* approached in their canoes to behold the *Spaniards*, and the whole formed a prospect that was at once new and extremely noble. In this city, they were entertained with a politeness that shewed its neighbourhood to the court.

About break of day the next morning, the *Spaniards* formed themselves upon the causeway, which was there wide enough to allow eight horses to march in front, and the whole army, which consisted of 450 *Spaniards* and 6000 *Indian* allies, proceeded on their march to *Ixta-*

Palapa, a city built in a most delightful and commodious situation, part of it upon the lake, and the other part on the shore. It consisted of 10,000 houses of two or three stories high. The Lord of this city, accompanied by the Princes of two other towns bordering upon the lake, came out to meet *Cortes* with three separate presents of gold, fowls, fruit, and other provisions. The *Spaniards* entered the city amidst the loud acclamations of the people; lodgings were prepared for them in the Prince's own palace, which was a large and well-built edifice, with many apartments both above and below stairs, among which were several chambers with flat roofs of cedar, furnished with cotton hangings, curiously painted: Here were many conduits of excellent water, conveyed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and a considerable number of large and well cultivated gardens, particularly one that was far more beautiful and spacious than the rest, and belonged to the *Cacique*. It consisted of squares adorned with a variety of flowers, a *parterre* with divisions made of canes interwoven with odoriferous shrubs, and fruit-trees disposed into walks. In the middle was a quadrangular pond of fresh water, encompassed with steps to the bottom, each side extended 400 paces. Here were kept the most delicate fish, and it at the same time served as a retreat to a great number of herons, wild-ducks, and other sorts of water fowl.



C H A P. VIII.

Cortes enters Mexico, where he is met by Motezuma, who comes in great State to welcome him to the City; afterwards confers with him at his Quarters, and grants him an Audience in the royal Palace. A Description of the City of Mexico, with an Account of the Grandeur, Wealth, and Power of the Emperor, and the Religion and Policy of the Mexican Government.

EARLY in the morning the Spaniards left the city of *Ixtapalapa*, and beginning their march in their accustomed order, soon discovered the great city of *Mexico*, distinguished above the rest by the height of its towers, and the grandeur and multiplicity of its buildings. On their having marched about half way, they were met by a body of about 4000 nobles and officers of the city, who came out to meet them, and having paid their obedience, turned about and advanced before the troops. At a small distance from *Mexico*, the causeway was crossed by a bulwark of stone, where the entrance into the city was secured by gates, a draw-bridge, and a second fortification. The nobles had no sooner passed on the other side of the bridge, than they fell back on each side, and made a lane for the army to pass through, when there appeared a spacious street, the houses of which were uniformly built, and the windows and battlements filled with spectators; though no body was seen passing

through the streets; for *Motexuma* had given orders for their being cleared, as he had himself resolved to shew *Cortes* an extraordinary mark of favour by his coming out to meet him.

Scarce had the *Spaniards* entered the city when they perceived the first troop of the royal retinue, which consisted of 200 noblemen of *Motexuma's* household uniformly adorned with feathers, who approached in two files with their eyes fixed on the ground, observing the strictest silence; but on their approaching, the *Spaniards* fell back on each side. Then appeared at a considerable distance a larger company more richly adorned, in the midst of whom was *Motexuma* in a chariot of burnished gold, surrounded with beautiful feathers, and carried on the shoulders of his favourites, while four persons of distinction held over his head a canopy of green feathers interwoven with ornaments of silver. He was preceded by three officers with golden rods, which they from time to time lifted up as a signal of the Emperor's approach, that all might prostrate themselves, and hide their heads. *Cortes* dismounted at a small distance, and *Motexuma* at the same time alighted from his chariot, when some of the *Indians* advanced before and spread carpets, that his feet might not touch the ground. He came forwards with a slow and solemn pace, leaning upon his cousins, the Princes of *Tezeuco* and *Iztapalapa*. He was about forty years of age, of a middle stature, and had a good presence; but his constitution seemed rather delicate than robust. He had an aquiline nose, and a fairer complexion than the rest of the *Mexicans*: his eyes were lively, and his hair

by HERNANDO CORTES. 95

hair reached a little below his ears; but his look, though thoughtful, was majestic: he wore on his head a kind of golden mitre; a mantle of fine cotton, covered with gold, pearls, and precious stones, was carelessly tied on his shoulders; and his shoes, which resembled the sandals of the *Romans*, consisted of a golden sole bound to his foot, with studded straps that came round a part of his leg.

Cortes, on seeing him, alighted, hastily advanced, and made a profound reverence, which *Moteczuma* returned in the manner of his country, by touching the ground with his hand and kissing it, at which the *Mexicans* were greatly astonished, since they had never seen any of their Emperors give such an instance of condescension. *Cortes* wore about his neck a chain of glass, curiously set in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he had reserved as a present for his first audience, and coming up close to the Emperor, he threw it about his neck. The Princes who supported him shewed some emotion, and interposed to prevent *Cortes*, signifying that it was unlawful to approach so near: but they were reprimanded by *Moteczuma*, who bowed his head to shew that he accepted the present, and which he returned by putting upon *Cortes*'s neck a rich ornament of crimson shells, joined together with great art, at each of which hung four crabs of gold of excellent workmanship. *Cortes* then made a short speech, which being answered by *Moteczuma*, he ordered one of his supporters to conduct the stranger to his lodging, and then leaning on the other went to his chair and returned to his palace.

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In this manner *Cortes* entered the city of *Mexico* on the 8th of *November* 1519. One of the royal palaces was provided for the *Spaniards*. It was built by *Motexuma's* father, and was large enough to lodge the whole army. It had very thick stone walls, was flanked with towers, and many of the chambers were furnished with cotton hangings, and feather-work of various colours. The chairs were formed out of solid pieces of wood, and the bedsteads had curtains like pavilions, the beds themselves were of palm mats, and the bolsters of the same rolled up. *Cortes* entered these lodgings a little after twelve at noon, and had no sooner distributed his guards and placed his artillery before the gate, than he found a splendid banquet prepared for himself and his officers, and great plenty of provisions dressed for the soldiers, with many *Mexicans*, who immediately waited upon them in the most profound silence.

In the evening *Cortes* was visited by *Motexuma*, who came in the same state as before; *Cortes* went to the principal square to meet him, and after making a profound reverence, entered the apartment with *Motexuma*, who took his seat with an air of majesty, and ordered a chair to be brought for *Cortes*: when the company retiring to some distance he is said to have addressed himself to him to the following purpose: "Before you
" mention the particulars of your Embassy, illustrious Captain, let you and I lay aside the
" prejudices we have each imbibed of the other
" from the misrepresentations of common report. You have been in some places told that
" I am a God, that my power is invincible, and
" my

“ my riches immense; that my palaces are covered
 “ with gold, and that the earth groans beneath
 “ the weight of my treasure. Upon other occasions,
 “ you have heard that I am a tyrant, insolent, cruel,
 “ and unjust: but you have been imposed upon
 “ by both representations: this arm of flesh and
 “ blood shews that I am mortal, and these walls
 “ and roofs demonstrate that my palaces are not
 “ covered with gold, and from these instances,
 “ you may conclude that the account of my
 “ vices is also exaggerated by the malice of my
 “ enemies. We have also received various ac-
 “ counts of you; some have affirmed that you
 “ are Gods who grasp the thunder, command
 “ the elements, and compel the beasts of the fo-
 “ rest to obey your directions. You have been
 “ represented by others as proud, vindictive,
 “ voluptuous, and transported with an insatiable
 “ thirst after the gold which our country pro-
 “ duces. Yet I now see that I have been alike
 “ deceived by these different accounts. You
 “ are made like other men, and only distin-
 “ guished from us, by the peculiarities of your
 “ own country. The beasts that so readily obey
 “ you, are large deer trained up to discipline.
 “ Your arms that produced lightening, I con-
 “ ceive to be barrels of metal, and their effect,
 “ like that of our farbacans, proceeds from air
 “ compressed and striving for vent, and as to
 “ the fire, noise, and smoke, they surely are
 “ owing to enchantment. In a word, we be-
 “ lieve that the great Prince to whom you pay
 “ obedience, is a descendant of *Quezalcoal*, Lord
 “ of the seven caves of the *Navatlagues*, and
 “ lawful sovereign of the seven nations that
 “ gave

“ gave rise to the *Mexican Empire*. For from
“ the tradition of many ages, we know that
“ he left these countries to conquer new regions
“ in the east, with a promise that in process of
“ time his descendants should return to new-mo-
“ del our laws, and reform our government.
“ We have therefore already determined, that
“ every thing shall be done for the honour of a
“ Prince who is the offspring of such an illust-
“ rious progenitor.” To this speech *Cortes* re-
plied to the following purpose: “ We have, it
“ is true, Sir, heard very opposite accounts of
“ your character, which some have extolled,
“ and others have vilified; but as the *Spaniards*
“ have penetration enough to distinguish the co-
“ lours of discourse, we have given no credit
“ either to your flatterers or your rebels, but
“ come into your presence with full assurance of
“ your being a great and equitable Prince. You
“ justly conclude we are mortal, though more
“ intelligent and valiant than your vassals. Our
“ beasts are not deer, but are of a more generous
“ species, inclined to war, and aspiring, with a
“ kind of ambition, to the glory of their mas-
“ ters: and as to our arms, they are made by hu-
“ man industry, without the assistance of magic,
“ an abominable art which we detest. I am
“ come as Ambassador to your Majesty from the
“ most powerful Monarch on whom the sun
“ sheds his beams at his first rising. He de-
“ sires to be your friend and confederate, and
“ though according to your traditions he might
“ pretend to be more absolute in these domini-
“ nions, he makes no other use of his authority,
“ but to promote your advantage, and to con-
“ vince

“vince you that you have departed from the
 “worship of the true God, to pay your adora-
 “tion to insensible pieces of wood, carved
 “out by your own hands, to whom you inhu-
 “manly sacrifice your fellow creatures.” He
 made use of other arguments to induce *Motexu-
 ma* to renounce his idolatry, and having ended
 his speech, the Emperor arose, saying, “I ac-
 “cept the friendship and confederacy of the
 “great descendant of *Quezalcoal*, but all Gods
 “are good, and yours may be so without of-
 “fence to mine. In the mean time repose your-
 “selves, you are in your own house, where
 “you shall be punctually served with all possi-
 “ble respect.” He then gave orders for some
Mexicans without to bring in a present that he
 designed for *Cortes*, and which was a very valu-
 able one, consisting of pieces of gold, cotton robes,
 and other curiosities, and at the same time, with
 an air of chearful generosity, he distributed some
 jewels among the *Spaniards* who were present.

The next day *Cortes* demanded an audience,
 which was immediately granted, he therefore
 dressed himself in his gayest apparel, without
 quitting his arms, and set out for the palace with
Juan Velasquez de Leon, *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro
 de Alverado*, and six or seven favourite soldiers.
 The streets were crouded with vast multitudes
 of people, who made way to let them pass, often
 pronouncing amidst their acclamations the word
Teule or *God*, with which the *Spaniards* were
 pleased, from the opinion that this extraordinary
 veneration would contribute to their success. At
 some distance appeared *Motexuma's* palace, a
 prodigious pile of building, which had thirty
 gates

gates that opened to as many different streets. The principal front took up one side of a spacious square, and was of red, white, and black jasper, beautifully polished, and in a large shield over the gate was represented *Moteczuma's* arms, a griffin with its wings extended, holding a tyger in its talons. When the *Spaniards* approached this entrance, the *Mexicans* who accompanied *Cortes* walked up to one side of it, then retiring, formed a semicircle that they might enter two a-breast; for it was esteemed irreverent to enter the royal palace in a croud. After their having passed three squares, they reached *Moteczuma's* apartments, which they admired for their largeness and furniture. The walls were covered with cotton hangings, interwoven with the furs of rabbits, and the innermost rooms were adorned with a very beautiful kind of tapestry, composed of feathers. The floors were covered with mats, and the roofs were of cypress, cedar, and other kinds of odoriferous woods, adorned with foliages and relievos, and though the use of nails was unknown to the *Mexicans*, the cielings were so contrived, that the planks supported each other. In these spacious rooms were officers who guarded the entrance, and at the door of the antichamber, were the nobility and magistrates, who received *Cortes* with much civility, but detained him till they had taken off their sandals, and rich mantles, and put on others that made a less splendid appearance, for they thought it presumptuous to appear in their richest apparel before the Emperor. *Moteczuma*, who was standing with all his ensigns of royalty about him, advanced some steps to meet *Cortes*, who coming

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ing forwards with a low bow, the Emperor laid his hands upon his shoulders, gave the rest of the *Spaniards* a smile, and then seating himself, desired them to sit, and entered into conversation with great freedom; asked several questions, relating to the manners and politics of the eastern countries, and made very judicious remarks upon the answers of *Cortes*. He then mentioned, how much the *Mexicans* were obliged to the descendants of their first King, and seemed to rejoice in having the prophecy fulfilled in his reign. *Cortes* turned the discourse upon religion, and particularly exclaimed against human sacrifices with such warmth, that *Motexuma* from that day banished dishes of human flesh from his table, though he maintained, that there was no cruelty in offering to the Gods the prisoners of war, who were already condemned to death.

Some days after this interview, *Motexuma*, who was still very fond of his own religion, conducted *Cortes* and some of his principal officers, with father *Bartholomew*, to the chief temple, in order to let them see its magnificence; but before they were admitted, he cautioned them to behave with decency. The gates of this spacious edifice being opened, he himself explained the particulars of their worship with such solemnity, as excited the laughter of the *Spaniards*, whose rudeness upon this occasion is not excusable. *Cortes* being here transported by a ridiculous and unreasonable zeal, cried to *Motexuma*, "Allow
 " me, Sir, to fix the Cross of Christ, before
 " these images of the Devil, and you will see
 " whether they deserve adoration or contempt."
 Both *Motexuma* and the priests were enraged at

this proposal; the former desired them to withdraw, and following him to the threshold, added, "You may return to your house, my friends, but "I shall stay to ask pardon of my Gods, for having suffered you to proceed so far." Yet notwithstanding his zeal for his religion, he was so far from thinking of tyrannizing over the consciences of the *Spaniards*, that he ordered workmen to be sent to assist them in fitting up a chapel, in which both he and his chiefs were frequently present when mass was performed.

It may here be proper to give a more particular description of the city of *Mexico*, which was divided into two parts, one, where the meaner sort resided was called *Tlatelulco*, while the other, appropriated to the court and the nobility, had the name of *Mexico*, which from thence was given to the whole city, that contained 60,000 families. This capital stood in a spacious plain, encompassed by high rocks and mountains, from which many rivulets falling down into the valley formed several lakes, among which there were two that extended about 30 leagues in circumference, and were surrounded by fifty towns. These lakes had a communication with each other through openings left in a stone wall, by which they were divided, and over these openings were wooden bridges, with sluices on each side, by which the lower lake was supplied from the other. The water of the uppermost was fresh, while that of the lake was salt, which solely proceeded from the nature of the soil. The city of *Mexico* stood in the middle of the salt lake, in $19^{\circ}. 13'$ north latitude, yet it enjoyed a mild, and healthy climate. It was joined

joined to the main land by three noble causeways. The streets were straight and large, and had a great number of canals for the convenience of water-carriage, in barks and canoes of different sizes; above 50,000 of which belonged to the city. All the public edifices and houses of the nobility were built of stone, and though the dwellings of the common people were meaner and more irregular, they, as well as the others, were laid out in such a manner, as to form several courts, in which their merchandize was exposed to sale. In the square of *Tlatelulco*, fairs were kept on certain days of the year, and though this was one of the largest squares in the world, it was on such occasions entirely filled with tents, covered with coarse cotton cloth, that afforded shelter both from the sun and rain. They here sold by barter, jewels, gold chains, various utensils made of silver paintings, beautiful landships made by a curious arrangement of feathers, different sorts of cloth, drinking cups of a kind of porcelain, fruit, fish, and all kinds of provisions; either maize or cacaoas served as money for things of small value. Here a house was appointed for the judges of commerce, who decided all the disputes that arose among the merchants, and even employed inferior officers to maintain justice and good order in the fair.

Their temples, as has been already observed, were spacious and magnificent, particularly that dedicated to *Vitzliputzli*, their God of war, their supreme deity. A wall of hewn stone, on which was cut wreaths of serpents, surrounded a large square, and though the houses of the

priests and their servants were erected round the inside of this wall, there was left room sufficient for 10,000 persons to dance upon their solemn festivals. On each side of the wall was a gate, over which stood four statues of stone, representing some inferior deities, to whom the people paid reverence as they entered. At a small distance from the principal gate was a place of worship flat on the top, the four sides of which were encompassed by trunks of trees with holes bored in them at equal distances, through which passed several bars run through the heads of men who had been sacrificed. In the centre of the square stood a lofty stone tower, with a stair-case that consisted of 120 steps, by which the people ascended to the top, where was a flat pavement, 40 feet square, beautifully paved with jasper, and surrounded with a ballustrade of a serpentine form. At the top of the stairs stood two marble statues well executed, supporting two large candlesticks of an extraordinary make. A little farther was a green stone raised about three feet from the pavement, on which the priests extended the miserable victim, while they opened his breast and plucked out his heart. Beyond this stone stood a chapel of excellent workmanship, which fronted the stair-case, and here the idol was placed upon a high altar, surrounded with curtains. This idol was in the form of a man sitting in a chair, sustained by a blue globe, furnished with four rods, which project from the sides, each terminating in a serpent's head. By these rods, the idol was carried by the priests on their shoulders when it was exposed to public

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lic view; on the head of the God was a helmet composed of plumes, in the form of a bird, with a bill and crest of burnished gold. The countenance of this deity was horrible, his forehead and nose being swathed with blue bands; in his right hand he held a curling serpent, and in the other four arrows and a shield, with five white plumes placed in the form of a cross. On the left hand was another of the same size and form, for the idol *Tlalock*, the supposed brother of that already described, and equally revered by the *Mexicans*. The ornaments of these chapels were of inestimable value. The city of *Mexico* had eight temples built nearly in the same manner; but those of a smaller size, dedicated to different idols, amounted to 2000.

Motexuma had, besides the palace in which he kept his court, several magnificent pleasure-houses, one of which was a noble building supported by pillars of jasper. In this edifice he had an aviary of those birds that are most remarkable on account of their singing or feathers, and these were so numerous, that 300 men were said to be employed in attending them. At a small distance was another very large edifice, where *Motexuma's* fowlers resided and took care of his birds of prey, among which were some bred to the game, like our hawks; and in the same place were eagles of an extraordinary size, and extremely voracious. In the second square of this last building were kept the wild beasts, as lions, tigers, bears and *Mexican* bulls, which are remarkably fierce and strong, and over their dens was a large

apartment, where buffoons and monsters were kept for the Emperor's diversion.

In *Motexuma's* armories a great number of workmen were employed in making shafts for arrows, grinding flints for the points, and in forming all kinds of offensive and defensive weapons. In another building the arms were deposited in great order; these consisted of two-handed swords edged with flint, darts, javelins, bows, arrows, and quivers, head-pieces, breast-plates, quilted jackets, and others made of impenetrable skins to cover the whole body, which they carried rolled up on their left shoulders, and put them on when they were ready to engage. All these several houses had spacious and well cultivated gardens, in which were a great variety of flowers and medicinal herbs set in squares. They were also adorned with fountains and beautiful summer houses.

But the most singular of all *Motexuma's* edifices was his house of sorrow, to which he retired in case of any public calamity, or at the death of a favourite relation. It was well calculated for promoting gloomy reflections, for the walls, roofs, and ornaments were black, and no other light was admitted, but what proceeded from some narrow openings in the walls, which were but just sufficient to discover the gloomy objects within.

Motexuma had also several pleasant country retreats, and large forests for the chace of wild beasts, in which he greatly delighted. In these sports a number of persons surrounded the game, and contracted the circle into a certain space, where he beheld the combats of his huntsmen

huntsmen with the wild beasts, in which the *Mexicans* were equally dexterous and daring.

When an Emperor was elected, he was obliged to obtain some victory over his enemies, before he was permitted to ascend the throne ; but having thus proved himself qualified for the task of reigning by his success, he returned in triumph, and having made his public entry with great state and solemnity, all the nobility, ministers, and priests, attended him to the temple of the God of war, where he alighted from his chariot, and having offered the customary sacrifice, was clothed by the electors in royal robes, who also put into his right hand a golden sword as an ensign of justice, and in his left a bow and arrows to signify his power and command in war. Then the Cacique of *Texeuco* placed a kind of gold mitre on his head. This ceremony being performed, one of the most eloquent of the magistrates made a speech, in which he congratulated him on his new dignity ; expatiated on the cares and troubles that attend a throne, and upon the duty of a sovereign. The chief priest then approaching, tendered him an oath, by which he bound himself to maintain the religion of his ancestors, and the laws and customs of the empire, to treat his vassals with lenity, and absurdly promised to procure seasonable rains, to prevent sterility, inundations, and the malignant influences of the sun and planets.

Motexuma had two sorts of guards, the one of 200 nobles, who were obliged to attend every day at the palace, to guard his person. This attendance was divided between two bodies

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that were upon duty by turns, comprehending the Lords of the whole empire, who were obliged to come to court from the most distant provinces. This was a scheme which *Moteczuma* himself had contrived for keeping the nobility in dependance, and rendering himself acquainted with their persons, capacities, and dispositions. His other guards were composed of soldiers, who filled the courts of the palace, and were posted in bodies at the principal gates.

Moteczuma had two wives, who bore the title of Queens, and were the daughters of tributary Princes: these were lodged in separate apartments, and lived in equal splendor. His concubines, however, who were selected from the most beautiful women throughout his dominions, exceeded 3000, and these, when dismissed, were married by persons of the first quality; for they were generally rich, and thought to be highly honoured by their being admitted to the Emperor's embraces.

Though he often eat in public, it was always alone. His table was generally furnished with above 200 dishes of different meats, some of which were well seasoned. Of these he chose a certain number for his own use, and the rest were divided among the nobles and his guard. He sat on a little stool at a large low table, the cloths and napkins of which were of fine cotton. His dining-room was divided in the middle by a rail which kept both the crowd and his own domestics at a distance, without obstructing the view, and within the rails he was attended by three or four of his favourite servants. The dishes were brought in by twenty women richly ornamented,

mented, who served up the meat, and presented him with the cup. The cloths and napkins, as well as all the dishes of fine earthen ware, on their being once used, were distributed among the servants. He sometimes drank out of cocoa, and other shells, richly set with jewels, and he also used gold cups and salvers. He drank several sorts of liquor, one of which was a kind of beer made of maize; he had other liquors richly perfumed, and others again mixed with the juice of salutiferous herbs. After his meals he took a kind of chocolate, and smoaked tobacco perfumed with liquid amber. Indeed the juice of this herb was one of the ingredients with which the priests intoxicated themselves whenever they were obliged to deliver an oracular answer. There were generally at the table three or four buffoons, who diverted the Emperor with their ludicrous talents; and at proper intervals he was entertained with music, composed of pipes and instruments made of sea shells, accompanied by voices, which formed an agreeable concert. The subject of these songs was generally the memorable actions of their Kings, and the exploits of their ancestors. They had also merry songs used in dancing, when the voice was accompanied with two little drums made of hollow pieces of wood, of different sizes and sounds; these were principally used in a dance called *Mitates*, practised at festivals, in which the nobles and common people used shouting and odd gesticulations, mingling together without distinction, and drank to each other till they grew intoxicated.

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Upon other occasions the people assembled in the porches and squares of the temples, and made matches for wrestling, running races, and shooting at the mark. Here were also rope-dancers, who performed with surprizing dexterity, without the assistance of poles, and also great numbers of people playing at ball, near the statue of an idol, brought out by the priests as the superintendant of that diversion. In short, the people of *Mexico* were almost daily diverted with such spectacles and amusements, as were contrived by *Moteczuma* to entertain them, and prevent their employing their thoughts to his prejudice.

The great revenue which enabled *Moteczuma* to support the expence of his court, and to keep two large armies constantly in the field, arose from the contributions levied on the subject, which amounted to one third of the annual produce of that vast Empire; from the salt-works and other taxes, established from time immemorial, and from the produce of the gold and silver mines. All the towns in the neighbourhood of *Mexico* provided men for the King's works, and fuel for the palace. The nobility were obliged to guard the Emperor's person, to serve in his armies with a certain number of vassals, and to make him presents, which, though he received as gifts, they durst not neglect. He had different treasurers for all the different kinds of contributions, and the tribunal of the crown revenue, having issued out what was necessary for the expence of the palaces and for war, converted the overplus into

to ingots of gold. Besides this tribunal, there was a council of justice, which received appeals from inferior courts; a council of state, and a council of war; judges of commerce, and other officers. As they had no written laws, but were governed by the customs and institutions of their ancestors, their trials were summary and verbal; murder, theft, adultery, and any slight disrespect towards the Emperor, were punished with death; but all other crimes were easily pardoned.

New-born infants were taken with great solemnity to the temples, where the priests gave them some admonitions relating to the troubles to which they were born. When the child was the son of one of the nobles, they put a sword into his right hand, and upon his left arm a shield, kept in the temple for that purpose. If he was of plebeian extraction, they put mechanical instruments into his hands, but the females of both ranks were presented with the spindle and distaff. After this ceremony was performed, the infant was taken to the altar, and his privities pricked with a thorn, or cut with a lancet of flint, so as to draw a few drops of blood, which was no sooner done, than they were sprinkled with water. The children of the plebeians were instructed in public schools, and those of the nobility in well endowed colleges, where they passed through three successive classes; in the first of which they were taught to read the characters and hieroglyphics, and to repeat the historical songs: In the second, they were instructed in the rules of civility, modesty, and a polite behaviour:

viour: And in the third, they were inured to robust exercises, as wrestling, managing their arms; the hardships of suffering hunger and thirst, and the inclemencies of the weather. Having acquired these qualifications, the young noblemen who were designed for war were sent as volunteers to the army, in order to accustom them to dangers and hardships, where they were often placed among the baggage men, and their shoulders loaded with provisions, to mortify their vanity, and inure their bodies to fatigue. After which they were obliged to give some proofs of valour, before they could be enrolled as soldiers.

Their marriage ceremony was very simple, for the contract being settled, the parties appeared in the temple, when the priest having examined them with respect to their mutual passion, he tied a tip of the woman's veil to the corner of the bridegroom's garment, and accompanied them, joined in this manner, to their habitation, where they went seven times round the fire, and then sitting down to receive an equal share of the heat, the marriage was completed. The husband then requested the bride's portion; but was afterwards obliged to restore it, in case of separation, which was often effected by mutual consent. In that case the boys remained with the father, and the girls went with the mother, and the marriage being thus dissolved, the parties were forbid to join again on pain of death.

The *Mexicans* believed the immortality of the soul, and that it was rewarded or punished in a future state, but buried gold and silver with the

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the deceased to defray the expence of their journey, which they imagined to be long and troublesome. Some servants were even slain to bear them company, and the wives frequently killed themselves in order to accompany their husbands: And when the Emperor died, all his household officers and favourites were obliged to follow him to the other world.

The *Mexican* year, as well as ours, consisted of 365 days, but was divided into eighteen months of twenty days each, and at the end of the year, five days, appropriated to pleasure and a cessation from business, were added to make it answer the course of the sun; they had also a kind of weeks of thirteen days, to which different names were given, and a much longer period, stiled ages, which consisted of four weeks of years. This large period was represented in a very singular manner. In the centre of a circle, divided into fifty-two degrees, allowing a year for each, they painted the sun, from whose rays proceeded four lines of different colours, which equally divided the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each quarter, and here the sun had his prosperous or adverse aspects, according to the colour of the line. In a larger circle, which inclosed the other, they marked with their characters the chief occurrences of the age, and these secular annals were considered as public instruments that served for proofs of historical facts.



C H A P. IX.

Cortes receives a very alarming Letter from Vera Cruz, in Consequence of which he makes Motezuma his Prisoner, and some time after loads him with Fetters. The Spaniards build two Ships upon the Lake. A Conspiracy formed against them; but discovered by Motezuma, and the principal Condu&or punished. Motezuma declares Charles V. King of Spain his Successor; and offers to become tributary to that Prince, to which he gains the Consent of the States, and confirms it by great Presents. After which he insists upon Cortes's leaving Mexico, who is informed of the Arrival of a Fleet sent against him by Velasquez.

THE *Mexicans* seemed to vie with each other, in expressing their regard for the *Spaniards*. They were daily entertained with some new diversion, at which *Motezuma* appeared in person, a condescension that inspired the people with a higher reverence and esteem for these strangers. He appeared particularly fond of *Cortes*, spending great part of his time with him, and contracted an acquaintance with his captains, to whom he frequently made presents, in which he distinguished the merit of each with great discernment. Thus the *Spaniards* enjoyed an agreeable repose; but were at length alarmed by a letter from *Vera Cruz*, brought by two *Tlascalan* soldiers, who had disguised themselves

selves so as to appear like *Mexicans*, and had entered the city unperceived.

This letter informed *Cortes*, that some of the *Indians* in alliance with the *Spaniards* complained to *Juan de Escalante* that *Qualepopoca*, one of *Moteczuma's* generals, had assembled a great body of forces upon the frontiers of *Zempoalla*, where they levied contributions with great cruelty. Upon which *Escalante* sent to desire the *Mexican* general to suspend hostilities till further orders should come from *Mexico*, where the *Spaniards*, the allies of those people, were entertained by *Moteczuma* with great hospitality. But *Qualepopoca* sending a very insolent answer, *Escalante* was so provoked, that he marched against him at the head of forty *Spaniards*, and 2000 *Indians*, and coming to an engagement, he put the *Mexicans* to flight, and notwithstanding his being almost intirely abandoned by his *Indian* allies, pursued them to the next town, where he attacked them with such resolution, that he entirely routed and dislodged them. This victory however cost the *Spaniards* very dear, for *Juan de Escalante* was mortally wounded, six of the soldiers also received several wounds, and *Juan de Arguillo*, a man of extraordinary stature, was carried off alive. In this letter the council of *Vera Cruz* desired *Cortes* to appoint them a new governor, and to give directions relating to their affairs.

Cortes being greatly concerned at the loss of *Juan de Escalante*, he communicated the letter to his captains; desiring that each of them would give his opinion freely at their next meeting, and the following morning sent for

some of the most sensible *Indians* in his army, when having asked them, if they had lately perceived any change in the behaviour or discourse of the *Mexicans*, they informed him, that the nobles appeared pensive and mysterious; that they had heard some of the people talk of breaking down the causeway, and that there was a report that a *Spaniard's* head had been presented to *Motexuma*, who viewed it with astonishment on account of its largeness, and the fierceness of its aspect, and immediately ordered it to be concealed.

From these circumstances and particularly that of the head, which *Cortes* supposed belonged to *Arguillo*, he immediately concluded, that the *Mexicans* were resolved on his destruction, and that *Motexuma* himself had concerted the ruin of the *Spaniards*; he therefore immediately assembled his council, composed of the captains and some favourite soldiers, and having told them the hints he had received from the *Indians*, asked their advice. Some proposed, that they should retire privately in the night: others that they should obtain a passport from *Motexuma*, and then retire publicly, and march to the relief of *Vera Cruz*; but the greatest part were of opinion, that they should continue at *Mexico* without seeming to know what had passed at *Vera Cruz*, till they could find a proper opportunity for retreating with safety. However, none of these schemes were approved by *Cortes*, who represented, that the project of retreating by stealth was equally dangerous and disgraceful, since it would lower them in the esteem of their allies, who might desert them

as dastardly fugitives, and perhaps recommend themselves to *Motexuma's* favour, by joining his forces in order to cut off their retreat. He observed that nothing could sink them lower in the opinion of the *Mexicans* than their demanding a passport, to retire from a city, which they had entered in spite of all opposition; and that if the Emperor really sought their destruction, he would grant them a safe conduct with a view of depriving them of all apprehensions, and attacking them when it was least expected; and as to their staying at *Mexico*, he thought that would be highly imprudent without taking some resolute step for their safety. He therefore proposed their seizing *Motexuma*, conveying him to their own quarters, and detaining him there as an hostage for the sincerity of his people. Such a bold action he alledged would fill the *Mexicans* with consternation, and so raise the character of the *Spaniards*, that they would never dream of combining against him for the future, especially when they were sensible that he had discovered the transactions at *Vera Cruz*, which they would imagine had been communicated by some supernatural intelligence. This daring proposal he supported with all his eloquence, and with such success, that it was unanimously applauded.

Cortes having chosen the hour, when the *Spaniards* were accustomed to wait upon *Motexuma*, for the execution of this bold project, ordered his people to arm themselves in their quarters, privately to saddle their horses, and to wait without noise for farther instructions. He then occupied all the avenues to the palace with

small scattered detachments, and directing thirty choice men to follow him at a distance, went thither attended by four of his Captains, who, as they usually carried their arms with them, their doing so now occasioned no suspicions. *Motexuma*, according to custom, came out of his apartment to receive the visit, and his servants retired, as usual, to another part of the palace, when *Cortes*, with an air of resentment, complained of the *Mexican* General, for attacking his confederates in violation of a peace under which they thought themselves secure; for murdering a *Spaniard* in cold blood, and endeavouring to vindicate his perfidious conduct, by declaring that he acted in obedience to his Majesty's commands.

On hearing this charge, *Motexuma* changed colour, but denied it with marks of confusion; when *Cortes*, pretending to believe him innocent, replied, that after such a declaration made by his General, neither the *Spaniards* nor his own subjects would be undeceived, unless he took some extraordinary step to efface the impression made by such a calumny. That he was therefore come to beg, he would without any disturbance repair with him to the *Spanish* quarters, where he should be treated with all the reverence and respect due to his Majesty, till his character should be vindicated to the satisfaction of all mankind. *Motexuma*, amazed and incensed at the boldness of this request, replied, that Princes of his rank were not accustomed to go tamely to prison, nor would his subjects permit his so far forgetting his duty, as to stoop to so base a compliance. Notwithstanding

Cortes

Cortes made use of other arguments, he still refused to leave his palace, but being sensible of his danger offered to send immediately for *Qualpopoca*, and to deliver him with all his officers into *Cortes's* hands, and in the mean time to give him two of his own sons as hostages for the performance of his promise. *Cortes*, however, was not satisfied with these expedients, and his Captains, apprehending that the delay might be dangerous, began to grow clamorous; and, among others, *Juan Velasquez de Leon* called aloud, since he will not hear reason, let us seize him by force, or kill him on the spot. The Emperor, hearing this uttered in an angry tone, desired to know what he said, when *Marina*, to whom he addressed himself, earnestly exhorted him, as his own vassal and subject, to comply without hesitation, in order to preserve his life; which had such an effect, that he instantly rose from his seat, and said to *Cortes*, "I trust myself in your hands, let us go to your quarters, for so the Gods have decreed." He then ordered his servants to get ready his equipage, told his minister that he had resolved to pass some days in the *Spanish* quarters, and ordered the Captain of his guard to march with a body of troops and take *Qualpopoca* and his officers prisoners, that they might suffer for having invaded *Zempoalla*.

Motexuma having given these directions, which *Marina* explained to *Cortes* and his officers, he left the palace with his usual attendants; the *Spaniards*, on pretence of respect, marching close by his chariot, which, as usual, was carried on the shoulders of his nobles. However, a report

port was instantly spread, that the strangers had seized the Emperor's person, when the streets were suddenly filled with crowds of people, who rent the air with their cries, threw themselves on the ground, shedding floods of tears for their unhappy Prince, and a general insurrection would have certainly followed, had not *Motexuma* with a serene countenance commanded silence, and assured the populace that he was going of his own accord to spend a few days with his friends the *Spaniards*. On his reaching their quarters he ordered his guards to disperse the populace, and his ministers to make it known, that the least tumult or disturbance should be punished with death. He then behaved in a very courteous manner to the *Spanish* soldiers, who came out to receive him, and having chosen an apartment, at some distance from those in the possession of the *Spaniards*, it was instantly furnished for his reception.

Cortes immediately doubled the guards, posted centinels at all the avenues, and, under the pretence of keeping his Majesty from being crowded, restrained the ministers and courtiers that waited upon *Motexuma* to a certain number. Mean while he preserved all the formalities of decorum, and treated the Emperor with his usual respect, while that Prince appeared chearful and in good humour, and seemed perfectly pleased with his situation. He still exercised all the functions of royalty, held councils, granted audiences, and, with the same freedom as usual, regulated both the civil and military government of his kingdom. His table was supplied from the palace in a most plentiful manner,

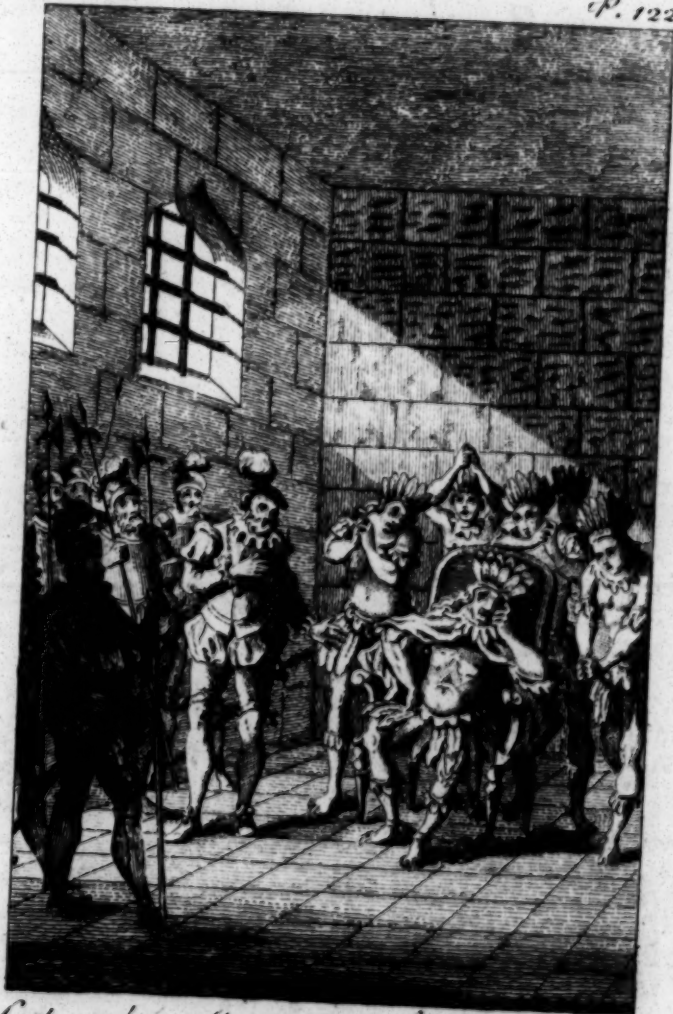
manner, in order that the *Spaniards* might feast on the superfluity; and he constantly sent some delicacies to *Cortes* and his Captains, each of whom he could call by their names. While he occasionally conversed with them, he studied their tempers, and, without descending beneath the dignity of his character, seasoned his discourse with pleasantry. All the time in which he was not employed in business, he passed among them, and sometimes he played with *Cortes* at *Tololoque*, a game which consisted of tipping down small pins of gold, with little balls of the same metal; and as they played for jewels and trinkets, the Emperor distributed his winnings among the *Spaniards*, and *Cortes* shared his good fortune among *Motexuma's* inferior officers.

While things were in this situation the Captain of the guard returned with *Qualpopoca*, his son, and fifteen of the nobles, who had been concerned in killing the *Spaniard*; they had surrendered themselves at the sight of the royal signet, and now arrived in about twenty days after the beginning of *Motexuma's* confinement. Many great men went out to meet them, and their General was brought in upon men's shoulders, when *Qualpopoca* appearing before the Emperor, the latter upbraided him for having killed the *Spaniard*, and delivered him and the other officers into the hands of *Cortes*, to whom they confessed themselves guilty of having violated the peace of their own accord, and of their having ordered *Arguillo* to be put to death; till finding that the *Spanish* General resolved

resolved to take away their lives, they laid the whole blame upon the Emperor, whose orders they had obeyed. *Cortes*, however, treated this as a malicious aspersión, brought them to a formal trial, in which the *Spaniards* were both the judges and accusers, and cruelly sentenced them to be burned alive.

To deter *Motexuma* from endeavouring to prevent the execution of this sentence, the General resolved on taking another surprising step. He went into that Prince's presence, accompanied by *Marina*, and three or four Captains, with a common soldier carrying fetters, and having saluted the Emperor with his usual respect, assumed a peremptory look, and in a loud voice told him, that *Quelpopoca* and his officers had acknowledged the crimes for which they were condemned to death; but as they pretended they had done nothing without his orders, it was necessary that he should suffer some personal mortification. He then, with an air of authority, commanded the soldier to shackle *Motexuma*, and then leaving him, gave orders to the guards to prevent his having any communication with his ministers.

Motexuma's astonishment at being treated in this ignominious manner, was so great, that he had neither power to resist, nor speech to complain, while his servants, without uttering a word, threw themselves at his feet, and, with signs of the deepest affliction, supported the weight of his fetters, to prevent their hurting his legs. However, when he first recovered from his amazement, he flew into a transport of
rage;



Cortez orders Motecuma to be put in Irons.

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rage; but soon recovering himself, collected his fortitude, and believing his life in danger, waited his fate with dignity and resignation.

In the mean time *Cortes* ordered the *Mexican* General, with his son and the rest of the officers, to be conducted under a strong guard of *Spaniards*, to a large square, where in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people their hands and feet were bound, after which they were placed on a large pile of broken bows and arrows, and fire being set to it, they were soon burned, to the amazement of all the spectators, who, without making the least disturbance, were struck with awe and admiration. *Cortes* then returned to *Motexuma's* apartment, and telling him with a smile, that the traitors, who had presumed to blemish his Majesty's character, had now received their just punishment, he stooped down, and with his own hands took off the fetters. The Emperor received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, embraced *Cortes* several times, and sitting both of them down together, entered into amicable conversation, during which the *Spanish* General let him know, that as the cause of his detention was now removed, he might return to his palace whenever he pleased. This was however no more than a political offer, which he knew he would not embrace: for *Marina* had been ordered to infuse into him a firm belief, that if he quitted the *Spanish* quarters, before *Cortes's* departure, he would suffer greatly in his reputation, as soon as it should be known that he received his liberty from the hand of another. He therefore declined the offer, and made a merit of his stay.

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by saying, that on his return to his palace, his nobility and ministers would press him to take up arms, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injury he had undergone, and therefore, out of regard to the *Spaniards*, he would remain where he was.

From this time the Emperor seemed perfectly satisfied with his situation, and at length had such confidence in *Cortes*, that he represented to him the expediency of allowing him to visit some of his temples, that his subjects might no longer look upon him as a prisoner, which *Cortes* readily granted, upon condition that human sacrifices should be abolished. His first excursion was to the principal temple, which he entered with his usual pomp and attendance, and his appearance was celebrated with the joyful acclamations of the people, among whom he distributed his bounty with uncommon liberality. From this time he went abroad as often as he pleased, sometimes to the palace of his wives, and at others to his pleasure houses, where he enjoyed his former amusements, but never without mentioning it to *Cortes*, who generally attended him in his parties of diversion, and seemed so highly to engross his favour, that the nobles, who had any petition to offer to the Emperor, constantly solicited the General's interest, which always proved successful. But notwithstanding this seeming tranquillity, the broken expressions overheard by the *Tlascalans*, about breaking the causeways, and removing the bridges, had made such a deep impression upon *Cortes's* mind, that he resolved to make himself

by HERNANDO CORTES. 125

himself master of the lake, by building two brigantines upon it.

Filled with this idea, he raised *Motexuma's* curiosity, by describing the manner of sailing with the wind, which was entirely unknown to the *Mexicans*, and obtained his permission to build two vessels for his Majesty's amusement, and the instruction of his subjects. He then ordered the nails, cordage, canvas, and other tackle, belonging to the *Spanish* ships that had been sunk, to be brought from *Vera Cruz*, and some builders, who had enlisted as soldiers, were immediately set at work, with many of the *Mexican* carpenters, who followed their directions, so that in a short time the brigantines were completed, and *Motexuma* resolved to embark with the *Spaniards*, in order to have a nearer view of this strange kind of navigation. Great preparations were made for this uncommon spectacle; a prodigious number of canoes, belonging to the Emperor and others, were finely decorated, and manned with the most expert rowers. The *Mexicans* firmly believed that their boats would exceed the brigantines in swiftness: However a breeze no sooner sprung up, than these vessels unfurled their sails, and soon left the canoes at a great distance, to the great amazement of the *Indians*, who could form no idea of the *European* manner of steering and working such floating-houses, and they expressly declared, that by means of these wonderful machines, they believed the *Spaniards* could perfectly command the elements of wind and water. The astonishment of *Motexuma* was mingled with joy, and he beheld the victory

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with the highest delight, though it was obtained
over his own subjects.

The Emperor now became daily more attached to *Cortes*, while the latter laid hold of this opportunity to desire his assistance in accomplishing various things he had in view: the first of which was the knowledge of the gold mines, their situation, how they were wrought, and what quantity of that precious metal was brought from them. *Moteczuma* gave him very clear and distinct answers to all those enquiries, and, for his further satisfaction, allowed such of his people as he could trust, to go to the mines, both within and without his dominions. *Cortes* being also desirous of having a map of the coast of the *Mexican* Empire, in order to be the better able to fix upon some port, to which supplies might be sent him, the Emperor ordered his painters to draw an exact representation of all his territories, with all the bays, harbours, and creeks upon the coast.

Some *Spanish* historians say, that at this time, when such real harmony ought to have prevailed between the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, *Cortes's* soldiers resolved to demolish all the idols of *Mexico*, and to convert the principal temple into a church; that the Priests took up arms, and the whole city rose in defence of their Gods; but after a long contest, maintained without bloodshed, the *Mexicans* agreed, that a part of the temples should be converted into a Christian chapel, and this even the idolatrous Priests themselves took great pains to clear and adorn; after which an altar was erected, with the cross of *Christ*, and the image of
the

the *Virgin Mary*; but that at length the *Mexicans* wanting rain came in a tumultuous manner to *Cortes*, and complained that their Gods had refused to refresh the earth, on account of their having introduced strange deities into their temples, when, to appease this disorder, he promised, that they should have a plentiful shower, which, it is pretended, actually fell in a few hours, to the great admiration of *Motexuma* and his subjects. But it is very improbable, that *Cortes* should suffer his soldiers to engage in so rash an enterprize, that could not fail of exasperating the minds of the *Indians*, and indeed the whole story plainly appears to be only a fiction, designed to raise the character of *Cortes*, by having a miracle wrought in his favour.

While the *Spanish* General continued to enjoy *Motexuma's* favour, a plot was formed, which neither the Emperor nor *Cortes* could foresee, *Cacumazin*, the Emperor's own nephew, who was Cacique of *Texeuco*, being a young man of great vivacity, art and ambition, under the pretence of delivering *Motexuma*, entertained designs of ascending the throne of *Mexico*, either by occasioning an immediate revolution, or by obtaining it by the favour of the people at the next election. In order to which he privately represented to the nobles and people, the disgrace of being under subjection to a handful of strangers, who dared to confine his uncle *Motexuma*; the audacious behaviour of *Cortes*, who had acted as a supreme magistrate in the midst of *Mexico*, and had even by a most ignominious execution put an *Indian* General to death; that it was high time to stand up for their religion,

their liberty, their honour, and their King, before the strangers had succours from their own country, from *Tlascala*, and other parts; and therefore proposed, that they should take arms, and suddenly attack the *Spaniards* in their quarters. But the Cacique of *Mataleingo*, who was likewise *Moteczuma's* nephew, and easily penetrated into *Cacumazin's* designs, which interfered with his own pretensions, opposed the execution of this scheme, insisting that some steps should first be taken, to secure the Emperor's person, which would be in the greatest danger from such an attack, and finding his expedient rejected by the assembly, as impracticable, resolved to inform *Moteczuma* of the conspiracy, though he seemed to act in concert with the council, who actually appointed the day in which the enterprize was to be executed. *Moteczuma* was no sooner informed of this plot, than he went to communicate the particulars to *Cortes*, who by means of his spies was already informed of the whole. He however returned the Emperor thanks for his information, and begged to be allowed to march out with the *Spaniards*, to chastize *Cacumazin*. *Moteczuma* urged several good arguments against this proposal, desired the General to leave the punishment of the offender to his care, and soon took such measures, that his nephew was seized and brought prisoner to *Mexico*, where he was closely confined. At this very time *Cacumazin* had a brother in *Mexico*, who was a youth of great courage, whom *Moteczuma* had taken into his protection; but a few days before he had narrowly escaped a snare which *Cacumazin*, in consequence

consequence of some domestic jealousies, had laid for his life. Upon this occasion *Cortes* dissuaded the Emperor from putting a Prince of the blood to death by a public execution; but advised him to deprive *Cacumazin* of his rank and dominions, and to bestow them on his brother, who deserved that mark of indulgence. *Motexuma* was greatly pleased with this advice, which he instantly communicated to his council, who applauded it as equally just and merciful; and this manner of chastizing without bloodshed, being admired by the whole Empire, had such an effect on the rest of the conspirators, that they disbanded their troops, and had recourse to the clemency of the Emperor, whose pardon they obtained through the intercession of *Cortes*.

But though *Motexuma* appeared so well satisfied with *Cortes*, he was far from being pleased at the *Spaniards* staying so long in his capital, and several mortifying reflections rankled at his heart, and disturbed his repose; for he could not compare his former situation with what he had suffered from the *Spaniards*, and his present dependent state, without having very humbling thoughts. He here, however, proved himself so great a politician, that he entirely concealed the disposition of his mind, and when he actually proposed to *Cortes* the scheme he had formed to get rid of him, he was so far from conceiving it in that light, that he thought it the highest act of favour he had ever conferred upon him. He took a proper opportunity to inform him, that he was now prepared to make a voluntary acknowledgment of the vassalage he

owed to the King of *Spain*, as the successor of *Quezalcoal*; that he would convoke a general assembly of his nobles for that purpose, and, as a mark of that vassalage, would present the most valuable jewels of his treasury to the *Spanish* Monarch, and did not doubt but all his Caciques would follow his example. *Cortes* returned him thanks for his liberality, without appearing surpris'd at his proposal, and inwardly rejoiced at the prospect of being able to give his sovereign such an important earnest of the wealth he might one day reap from this acquisition.

Motexuma, agreeably to his promise, dispatched couriers to convene all the Caciques of his Empire, according to a custom practis'd on important occasions. They came with equal splendor and expedition, and the council was assembled in the King's apartment, in the presence of *Cortes* and his Captains. The Emperor began with a studied speech, in which he reminded them of the obligations they were under to him as their sovereign and benefactor, and having assured them, that he had both consulted and obtained the approbation of the Gods, with respect to the cause of their meeting, repeated the story and prophecy of *Quezalcoal*, declared that the King of *Spain* was the descendant of that mighty Prince, and consequently the lawful sovereign of the *Mexican* Empire, to whom both he and they were bound to pay obedience, as a mark of which he had selected for an offering to the King of *Spain* the most precious jewels of his treasury, and he did not doubt but they would follow his example.

Motexuma

Moteczuma was unable to pronounce this speech without interruption; he sighed from time to time, and on his owning himself the vassal of another Prince, the tears trickled down his cheeks, and he was unable to proceed. *Cortes* then rising, declared that it was not his sovereign's intention to dispossess *Moteczuma*, or to occasion the least innovation in his government, and that he only required them to settle his right to the succession in favour of his descendants, at which *Moteczuma* resuming fresh courage, finished his speech. The whole assembly were amazed, and struck dumb at a proposal that appeared so inconsistent with the dignity and known character of the Emperor, and considering it as extorted by compulsion, they groaned bitterly; gave the strongest marks of anxiety and perturbation of mind, and with an emphatic silence looked at each other. At length the prime minister, who was well acquainted with his Prince's disposition, took upon himself to answer, in the name of the whole assembly, and assured *Moteczuma*, that as all the nobles esteemed him their natural Lord and Sovereign, they would cheerfully obey whatever he thought proper to propose, and follow his Majesty's example to the utmost of their power. The whole assembly expressed their assent to this declaration, when *Cortes* by means of his interpreter made an artful speech, in which he returned thanks to *Moteczuma* and all present, for this proof of their respect, which he accepted in the name of his King. It is probable that *Moteczuma's* sole intention in this transaction, was to forward

forward the departure of his guests, without the least design of fulfilling the terms of this submission for the future. However, from that day, *Charles V.* was acknowledged, and believed by the people to be the lawful sovereign of the *Mexican* Empire, and their homage, according to the custom of the country, was authenticated by a public instrument.

The Emperor, having concluded this affair to his own satisfaction, resolved immediately to recover that liberty and independance for which he had so long sighed in secret, and speedily delivered to *Cortes* the present he had provided, consisting of curiosities in gold, in the shape of birds, fishes, and four-footed beasts, and many precious stones, particularly a number of a sort esteemed by the *Mexicans* above all others, which in colour resembled emeralds, and many beautiful pictures, formed of variegated feathers. In short, the whole seemed the ransom of a great Prince, who thought he could not purchase his liberty at too high a price; and the liberality of the nobles was such as might be expected from wealthy Chiefs, who vied with each other in loyalty and ostentation. *Cortes* chose a receiver and treasurer, who were directed to take an exact account of what was received, and in a few days, exclusive of jewels and pieces of curious workmanship, they had amassed as much gold as when melted down amounted to 600,000 peſoes in bars, out of which treasure, one fifth part was set a-side for the King, and a fifth of the remainder for *Cortes*, and to defray the expence of providing necessities

faries for the army: another part was allotted to reimburse *Diego Velasquez*, and *Cortes's* friends in the island of *Cuba*; and the remainder was divided amongst the officers and soldiers, including those that were at *Vera Cruz*. All who were in the same posts had equal shares, but among the private men those were best rewarded who had most distinguished themselves. This however produced loud complaints, which were soon silenced by *Cortes's* satisfying the malecontents from his own share.

Motexuma having thus acknowledged his subjection to *Spain*, sent for *Cortes*, and with an air of greater dignity than usual, told him, that as his business was now dispatched, he ought to think of departing, since his staying any longer would be attributed to sinister motives, nor could he longer afford him support when he had not reason on his side. This intimation, and the manner in which it was delivered, were so unexpected, that *Cortes* was some time before he could recollect himself, so as to make a proper reply. He now perceived the design of convoking the assembly, and suspected that *Motexuma* had privately assembled some forces in order to back this proposal, and therefore sent one of the *Spaniards* who was with him to order his soldiers to take to their arms, and in the mean while excused his embarrassment at seeing his Majesty more moved than usual, assuring him that he was so far from designing to delay his departure, that he came on purpose to desire his permission to build some vessels to carry the *Spaniards* to their own country, as his Majesty
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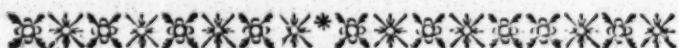
well knew they had lost their ships, in which they had failed to that coast.

It is said that the Emperor had provided 50,000 men to support his determination; but it is certain that he was very desirous of avoiding a rupture with *Cortes*, and was even under some apprehensions with respect to the answer he might receive; but he no sooner heard this artful reply, than he embraced him with singular marks of affection, and having now lost his fears, told him with great complacency, that he did not intend to hasten his departure before he was provided for the voyage, and that he should be speedily furnished with every thing he wanted. He accordingly gave orders for assembling all the carpenters in the country to cut wood, and to work under the direction of the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* seemed in equal haste to be gone, and dispatched his builders to *Vera Cruz*, in order to collect the remainder of the iron work, rigging, and sails of the vessels which had been sunk, but at the same time sent private directions to *Martin Lopez* his master-builder, to proceed slowly, and prolong the work as much as possible, without incurring the suspicion of the *Mexicans*; his real design being to preserve his footing at *Mexico* till the return of his commissaries from *Spain*; for he expected that they would bring with them both a supply of troops, and directions for his future conduct.

He thus for the present quieted the minds of *Moteczuma* and his subjects; but a very few days produced an extraordinary alteration in his affairs. The Emperor received intelligence
that

that eighteen ships had appeared upon the coast of *Pilleca*, and by the paintings made for his Majesty's information, these ships seemed to be manned with *Spaniards*, a circumstance which naturally alarmed the whole Empire, and revived the suspicions that had been entertained of *Cortes*, to whom *Motexuma* immediately communicated this intelligence, letting him know at the same time, that it must now be unnecessary for him to proceed in building ships, since he might embark in those sent from his own country. *Cortes* examined the paintings, and was convinced of their being *Spanish* vessels: but supposing that they were sent to him from *Spain* with a supply of troops and ammunition, answered with great composure, that he would immediately embark, if they were going to return to any of the King of *Spain's* dominions, but that it would be imprudent to desist from building, till he should be informed of the particulars by a messenger from *Zempoalla*, whom he every moment expected. But a few days after this conversation, *Cortes* received a letter from *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, by which he was informed that this fleet contained 800 men, and was sent by *Diego Velasquez* to oppose him and his designs in *Mexico*. He received this mortifying account, while he was in conversation with *Motexuma*, and was obliged to make use of all his prudence and resolution to conceal the emotions he felt upon this occasion, from the observation of that Prince. He however succeeded in his endeavours, and retired in order to deliberate upon this unexpected event. But it

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is here necessary to mention the reception *Cortes's*
commissaries found at the court of *Spain*, and
the causes that promoted *Velasquez* to fit out
such a fleet against him, which will be the sub-
ject of the following chapter.



C H A P. X.

The Proceedings of the Commissaries sent by Cortes to the Court of Spain, and the Rise of the Second Expedition formed by Diego Velasquez for the Destruction of Cortes. The Monks of St. Geronimo endeavour in vain to make Velasquez abandon his Project. The Fleet sails under the Command of Pamphilo de Narvaez, arrives at Vera Cruz, but is opposed by the Governor. Cortes endeavours to come to Terms of Accommodation with the other Army, but without Success, and sets out upon his March against Narvaez.

IT has been already observed that *Cortes* and the council of *Vera Cruz*, sent *Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero* and *Francisco de Montejo*, with letters for the King of *Spain*, together with the first tribute sent from *New Spain*. These gentlemen, contrary to the orders they had received, touched at the island of *Cuba*, in order that *Francisco de Montejo* might have the pleasure of visiting his family and relations who resided near the *Havannah*, and at so great a distance from *Velasquez*, that they flattered themselves they ran no risk, either from his vigilance or resentment,

ment. This step however brought them into great danger, for *Diego Velasquez* supposing that *Cortes* would send some of his ships to *St. Domingo*, to solicit succours of the religious governors, had placed spies along the coast, who informing him of what had happened at *Montejo's* house, he immediately dispatched two light vessels well manned, with orders to take the ship, and every person on board, and *Montejo*, in consequence of the first notice he had received of this advice, had no sooner embarked, than he was obliged to sail through the gulph of *Florida*, which was hitherto unattempted, as the only means of escape.

This ship however had a very prosperous voyage; but arrived at *Seville* at a very unfortunate conjuncture: for the chaplain *Benito Martin*, who had been sent by *Velasquez* to solicit the commission of King's Lieutenant, had obtained his suit; sent the commission to *Cuba*, and was then waiting at *Seville* for a ship, in order to return thither himself. This man represented *Cortes* as a pirate, who had clandestinely sailed with several vessels which belonged to *Velasquez*, and in consequence of his complaint, the directors of trade, ordered the ship and cargo to be seized; but as a great favour permitted the two Captains, with the pilot sent by *Cortes*, to apply to the King for redress. They accordingly set out for *Barcelona*, but there found that his Majesty was at *Corunna*, where he was preparing to pass over into *Flanders*, in order to accept of the Imperial Crown. They therefore set out for that city, and in their way visited *Martin Cortes*, who with equal pleasure and sur-

prize, heard of the glory and success of his son, whose death he had long deplored, and persuaded him to accompany them to the Emperor, in hopes that his character and grey hairs would give a sanction to their solicitations. They had the good fortune to overtake the Court at *Tordesillas*, just as *Cortes's* presents arrived with the *Indians* of the New Conquest from *Seville*; for these being upon the Emperor's own account, they durst not detain them. His Majesty gave them a very gracious reception, and was extremely surprized at their account of this new discovered Empire, and in several conferences with them enquired minutely into every particular relating to the conquest. While the *Indians*, and the presents that were before him, gave as it were sanction to all the wonderful things they related. But as he was then on his departure to *Germany*, he referred *Cortes's* letters and solicitations to Cardinal *Adrian*, and the council, to which he had communicated the management of affairs during his absence, desiring that they would find out some method of doing justice to *Velasquez's* pretensions, and at the same time to encourage *Cortes*. But the president of this council being *Velasquez's* friend, represented *Cortes* as a rebel, upon whom they could have no dependance. They however did not think proper to give him an immediate cause of discontent, though they resolved not to send him any part of the supplies he had earnestly requested, and all that the deputies could obtain was a small share of what they had brought for their own subsistence; after which they for

two whole years attended the court without the least success.

In the mean time *Diego Velasquez* received his commission of King's Lieutenant, not only of *Cuba*, but of all the countries that should be discovered and conquered by his means, which, together with his being assured of the protection of the Bishop of *Burgos*, president of the *Indies*, enabled him to gratify his ambition and resentment; whence he resolved to punish *Cortes* as a rebel and deserter, and to appropriate to himself the honour of conquering the *Mexican Empire*. With these views he expended the greatest part of his fortune in equipping a squadron, which consisted of 800 *Spanish* infantry, 80 horse, 12 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of provisions, arms and ammunition. The command of this squadron he bestowed upon *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, a man of distinction and capacity, but vain, haughty, and opinionated; and to this person he gave the title of his Lieutenant, with private instructions to apprehend *Cortes*, and send him over to *Cuba* in irons, together with his principal officers, in case they refused to abandon his interests. After which he was to take possession, in the name of *Velasquez*, of all the countries that had been conquered, as being within his jurisdiction.

While these preparations were making, the Monks of *St. Geronimo*, who presided over the royal audience at *St. Domingo*, and whose jurisdiction extended over the other islands, were informed of his designs, and foreseeing the ill consequences that might attend them, sent *Lucas Velasquez de Ayllon* to persuade *Diego* to desist

from his enterprize, and in case his arguments failed, to command him, under great penalties, to desist from undertaking what might impede *Cortes's* measures.

This Minister, arriving in the island of *Cuba* when the fleet was just ready to sail, used all his elocution and influence to divert *Velasquez* from his purpose, and among other arguments, represented the mischief that might be done to the interest of *Spain*, should the *Indians* be witness of a civil war among their conquerors, and exhorted him to leave his complaint to the examination of the royal chamber, which would not fail of doing him justice; but *Velasquez* being deaf to all his remonstrances, and elevated by the title he had acquired to the greatest degree of pride and insolence, *De Ayllon* caused his orders and protest to be notified by a scrivener, and then dissembling his resentment, desired to be allowed to gratify his curiosity by accompanying the expedition. This request was immediately granted, and *De Ayllon* embarked, in hopes of being able to act as mediator between *Narvaez* and *Cortes*, and thus prevent the ill consequences that might arise from *Velasquez's* resentment. With the same view *Andres de Duero*, the Secretary of *Velasquez*, who had befriended *Cortes* in the beginning of his fortune, engaged in the expedition, and the Squadron sailing with a favourable wind, soon came to an anchor in the port of *Ulua*.

Narvaez on his arrival on the coast of *Mexico*, sent some soldiers on shore for intelligence, who soon returned with two or three *Spaniards* whom they found straggling about, and from these he received

received an account of every thing that had happened at *Vera Cruz* and *Mexico*. *Narvaez*, upon receiving this intelligence, resolved to endeavour to obtain the fortress of *Vera Cruz* by treaty, and therefore sent a clergyman, named *Juan Ruis de Guevara*, with three soldiers and a public notary to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, in order to persuade him to give up *Vera Cruz*, and to join the army with his garrison.

Gonzalo, being informed by his centinels of their coming, was prepared for their reception; but could scarcely restrain himself within the bounds of moderation, when *Guevera* delivered his message, and let him know that *Narvaez* was come to send *Cortes* in chains to *Cuba*; he therefore answered with great warmth that he could not believe that *Narvaez*, whom he took to be a good subject, would attempt to interrupt *Cortes* in a conquest that would be of such advantage to *Spain*; but would rather join him with all his forces, in order to bring such a noble scheme to perfection. However if he was really resolved to offer violence to *Cortes*, he might be assured that the garrison of *Vera Cruz* would make all the opposition in their power. The priest being very passionate was so provoked at this unexpected repulse, that he threatened *Cortes* and all his adherents, whom he upbraided as felons and traitors, and then ordered the notary to do his office in publishing that all the *Spaniards* in *Vera Cruz* should obey *Narvaez* on pain of death.

Sandoval attempted to persuade this indiscreet ecclesiastic, that such violence was equally unjust and indecent in a person of his profession;

but finding that all his arguments were vain, he at length assumed a peremptory air, and told the notary, that should he presume to publish any orders that did not come from the King, he would give directions for his being hanged immediately. He even caused the priest and his attendants to be apprehended, and sent to inform *Cortes* of the steps he had taken. He then summoned his *Indian* allies to assist him, in case he should be attacked; put his fortrefs in the best order possible, and like an able and vigilant commander, made all the necessary dispositions for sustaining a siege.

Cortes was under the greatest anxiety on his being informed of these transactions, he being very sensible of the dangerous situation he was in, with respect to the *Mexicans* and to *Narvaez*, who were equally his enemies; and yet in the presence of *Motexuma*, he wore an air of tranquillity, telling him, that those who had newly arrived, were come with a second embassy to support the propositions he had already made, and, according to the custom of his country, had brought an army along with them; but that he would prevail upon them to return, and as his Majesty's generosity had left nothing either for him or them to desire, he would go along with them.

Cortes's uneasiness was however very far from rendering him inactive, he resolved, if possible, to bring about a reconciliation with *Narvaez*; but lest that should not succeed, prepared with the greatest diligence for war. He gave private instructions to three or four of his soldiers, who were permitted to visit the mines of *Chinanla*,

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to persuade the Caciques of that country, to levy 2000 soldiers for his service, for they were a warlike people, and had already privately offered him their friendship. He at the same time purchased of them 300 lances, made of a very tough wood, armed with points of tempered copper, and distributed them among his soldiers, bayonets being not then invented, to preserve them from *Narvaez's* horse, which gave him great apprehensions.

While *Cortes* was taking these prudent steps, *Pedro de Solis* arrived from *Vera Cruz* with the prisoners sent by *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who had been carried in chairs on the shoulders of the *Indians*. When *Cortes*, being informed of their coming, went out to receive them with a greater number of attendants than ordinary. He instantly caused their fetters to be taken off, embraced them with great appearance of cordiality, and was particularly civil to father *Guevara*, telling him, that he would chastize *Gonzalo de Sandoval* for his shewing so little regard to his person and character. He then conducted him to his own apartment, complimented him with a place at his table, and more than once intimated that he felt the greatest satisfaction at the arrival of *Narvaez*, with whom he had formerly lived in the most intimate friendship. He took him to *Motexuma*, and made him a witness of the favours he received from that great Emperor, and of the profound respect with which he was treated by the *Mexican Princes*, and greatly allayed the violence of his temper, by making him a present of some valuable jewels. His companions also had a share in his bounty, and then without dropping

dropping the least hint of his being desirous of their employing their good offices with *Narvaez* towards an accommodation, he in four days after their arrival suffered them to return, when warmly engaged in his interest.

Cortes, after having dismissed them in this courteous manner, allowed some time for his wise and politic behaviour to produce the desired effect, and then sent friar *Bartholomew de Olmedo* with letters for *Narvaez*, *de Ayllon*, and the secretary *Andres de Duero*, and at the same time furnished him with a stock of jewels, with orders to distribute them according to his own sagacity and penetration. In his letter to *Narvaez* he welcomed him to the *Mexican* coast, gave him an account of the conquest; described the warlike genius of the *Indians*, with the power and grandeur of *Motexuma*; expatiated on the ill consequences that would infallibly attend a misunderstanding among the *Spaniards*; reminded him of his duty to the King, and the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them; desired to know his orders, which if they were from his Majesty, he promised to obey, even though he was commanded to desist from the enterprize in which he had so far succeeded, and intimated the mischief that would be produced, with respect to the King's interest, if he only intended to prosecute the unjust resentment of *Velasquez*, whom he had not only resolved to indemnify for the expence of equipping the ships with which he had arrived, but also to give a share in the glory and advantage of his success, and concluded with telling *Narvaez*, that he did

did not use arguments for want of strength, and that he knew how to maintain his own rights.

Narvaez had fixed his quarters at *Zempoalla*, where he was received with great hospitality by the fat Cacique, who at first imagined that he was come in order to assist his friend *Cortes*; but he was soon undeceived, for though *Narvaez* had no interpreters, his actions spoke but too plainly. He treated the *Zempoallans* in the most oppressive and imperious manner, seized the furniture and jewels which *Cortes* had left in his own house, and his soldiers were suffered to commit every act of rapine and violence.

Guevara, on his return from *Mexico*, waited upon him, expatiated on the magnificence of that city, the kind reception he had met with from *Cortes*, the astonishing degree of favour, he was in with *Moteczuma*, and his great desire to live in friendship with *Narvaez*, when that imperious officer interrupting him, bid him return to *Cortes*, by whose artifices he had been cajoled, and then, with the most shocking marks of rudeness and disrespect, thrust him from his presence. But though the priest was repulsed by *Narvaez*, he and his companions made a great impression on the minds of the soldiers, to whom they extolled *Cortes* in such a manner, as not only made them desire an accommodation with that General; but inspired them with a dislike to their own Commander.

Olmedo soon followed *Guevara*, and delivered *Cortes's* letter to *Narvaez*; but could scarce prevail upon him to peruse the contents, which he however superficially skimmed over, out of com-

pliment to the function of the bearer. It was in vain that the friar made a very eloquent and pathetic speech, on the necessity of their acting in concert, in order to promote the advantage of *Spain*, and the fatal effects that would attend their animosity; *Narvaez* replied with indecent heat that the principal design of his coming was to chastise *Cortes* as a rebellious subject; that he would instantly set a price upon his head, and proclaim all his adherents traitors, and that he had force sufficient to wrest the conquest from his hands, without having the least occasion to consult the accomplices and abettors of his rebellion. The friar, however, still preserved his temper, and let him know that, before he arrived at *Mexico*, he would be obliged to fight his way through intire provinces of warlike *Indians*, who were the friends and confederates of *Cortes*. That his *Spaniards* were resolved to die by his side, and that his cause would be supported by *Motexuma*, a prince who had such power, that for every single soldier *Narvaez* had under his command, he was able to raise a numerous army.

Olmedo having taken his leave, visited *de Aylon*, and the secretary *Andres de Duero*, who promised to exert all their power and influence in producing an accommodation. He then mingled with the Captains and soldiers of his acquaintance, explained the nature of his embassy, represented the necessity of reconciling the two Commanders, distributed the jewels and other curiosities he brought with him with great judgment, and in short would soon have formed a
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strong party in favour of *Cortes*, had not *Narvaez*, who had been informed of his proceedings, ordered him to be brought before him, reviled him as being a mutinous and seditious traitor, and obliged him to depart immediately from *Zempoalla*.

The licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon* at this instant entered the room, and proposed that before *de Olmedo* was dismissed, the officers should be assembled, in order to deliberate upon a proper answer to be sent to *Cortes*. But this proposal was rejected by *Narvaez* with great indignation; and, in order to prevent any farther dispute, he ordered war to be declared against *Cortes*, as a rebel and traitor, assigned a considerable reward to any who should take him dead or alive, and commanded the army to prepare for a march. *De Ayllon*, exasperated at this instance of violence and irregularity, ordered the crier to desist, and commanded *Narvaez* not to stir a foot from *Zempoalla* on pain of death, or to employ the forces without the unanimous consent of the whole army. Upon which *Narvaez* ordered him to be apprehended; sent on board a vessel, and instantly transported to *Cuba*. At the same time *de Olmedo* set out on his return to *Mexico*, while the principal officers in *Narvaez*'s army were shocked at his insolence, and the inferior soldiers loudly murmured at his conduct.

De Olmedo, on his arrival at *Mexico*, informed *Cortes* of the implacability and intemperate behaviour of *Narvaez*; but encouraged him by mentioning the disposition of the soldiers, upon which he immediately resolved to take advantage

tage of this favourable circumstance, and the *Spaniards* at *Mexico* were no sooner informed of his having taken this resolution, than they expressed the utmost zeal and impatience to be in action, for notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, they had such confidence in the valour, ability, and discretion of their General that they thought it almost impossible for them not to conquer, when under his command.

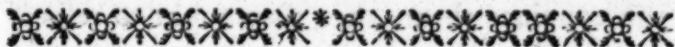
Cortes was unwilling to damp their alacrity by any unnecessary delay, and therefore repaired to *Motexuma's* apartment, in order to acquaint him with his intended march; but was not a little surprized, at hearing that Prince begin the discourse, and at his saying that he had from different parts received information that the *Spanish* General at *Zempoalla* was come with very ill designs against him and his followers, and though he did not wonder that the two chiefs should be at enmity from some private animosity, he could not help thinking, that as they were the vassals of one prince, and headed armies of contrary factions, one of them must necessarily be a rebel to his Sovereign. *Cortes* was somewhat startled at this declaration; but immediately availed himself of that presence of mind, which never forsook him in his greatest emergencies, and replied without hesitation, that the accounts received by his Majesty were undoubtedly true, and he was come to lay the same intelligence before him; but that *Narvaez* was not to be considered as a rebel, but rather as a person who proceeded upon wrong principles through mistake, for he was come as lieutenant or substitute from

from a misinformed governor, who resided in a remote province, and was therefore unacquainted with the last resolutions of the court of *Spain*, and really imagined that the embassy to the Emperor of *Mexico* was an affair that belonged to his office; but that all this misunderstanding would vanish as soon as he should lay his dispatches before that lieutenant. He had therefore resolved immediately to march with part of his forces to *Zempoalla*, in order to dispose them to return on board their ships, and that he should soon convince them, that they ought to respect the subjects of the *Mexican* empire as a people under the King of *Spain's* protection.

Motexuma was much pleased with the prospect of getting rid of such disagreeable visitors, of whose exactions and acts of oppression he was particularly informed; but imagining that *Cortes* might be exposed to some danger by attempting to bring them to reason, he offered to furnish him with an army that should be entirely under his command, and repeated this offer with such earnestness, that *Cortes* was fully convinced of his sincerity, though he declined accepting it, with many expressions of acknowledgment, from his having but little confidence in the attachment of the *Mexican* soldiers to his interest.

Cortes resolved upon leaving fourscore *Spaniards* in *Mexico*, under the command of *Pedro de Alverado*, an excellent officer, who by his engaging behaviour had already acquired great share of *Motexuma's* friendship. He gave him directions relating to his conduct, with respect to the Emperor, and the soldiers were ordered to

obey their captain, and serve *Motexuma* with the greatest respect. These precautions being taken, *Cortes* dispatched a messenger to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with orders to intrust the confederate *Indians* with the fortress of *Vera Cruz*, and to march out with the *Spaniards* to meet him at a certain place of *rendezvous*. He then having taken care to obtain the necessary supplies of provisions on the road, and procured a body of *Indians* to carry the baggage, set out on his march.



C H A P. XI.

Cortes, finding it impossible to bring Narvaez to accept of any Terms of Accommodation, attacks him and his Army; obtains a complete Victory, and prevails on the Soldiers to enter into his Service.

THE *Spaniards* marched with the cheerfulness and circumspection of veterans, inured to the hardships and dangers of war. They took the road to *Cholula*, at which city they met with an hospitable reception, and proceeding towards *Tlascala*, found, at half a league's distance from that city, a splendid appearance of the nobility and the whole senate, who received their visit with great demonstrations of joy and respect. After staying there a short time, they marched to *Matalequita*, a town of *Indian* friends, where they were joined by *Gonzalo de Sandoval* and his troops, with seven soldiers from

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Narvaez's army, by whom he was informed of every thing that had passed in the enemy's quarters before they deserted. He had also intelligence of a fresher date from two soldiers who had gone from *Vera Cruz* to *Zempoalla* in the disguise of *Indians* carrying baskets of fruit, which they exchanged with the *Spaniards* for glass beads, and other toys, and so dexterously assumed the simplicity of the natives, that they were permitted to range without the least suspicion, thro' every part of the quarters; they even ventured to repeat this visit, and as a proof of the carelessness with which *Narvaez* caused the watch to be kept, took from the very parade a horse belonging to a Captain who was one of *Cortes's* most bitter enemies.

In order to gain time till the arrival of the *Indians* from *Chinantla*, *Cortes* sent *de Olmedo* a second time with proposals for an accommodation; but he meeting with no success, *Juan Velasquez de Leon* was sent to use his influence with *Narvaez*, from the hopes that his being related to *Diego de Velasquez* would render his mediation the more acceptable. *Narvaez* had indeed written to this officer to exhort him to espouse his kinsman's cause, and to offer him a very advantageous post in his army: but this letter *Juan* had delivered to *Cortes*, with protestations that he would die by his side, rather than desert his colours, and his behaviour upon this occasion was an additional motive for sending him upon this negociation.

On his approaching *Zempoalla*, *Narvaez* came with a grand retinue to meet him, supposing that

he was come to join him; but had soon the mortification to find himself mistaken. He however used many arguments to detach him from *Cortes*, and to render him an eye witness of his superior strength, commanded the whole army to be reviewed before him. The next day he invited him to dinner, together with those of his own officers, on whom he placed the greatest confidence, that they might assist in persuading him to join their party. In the beginning of the conversation, he was treated with great civility and respect, but in the midst of their festivity some sarcastic reflections were thrown out against *Cortes*, and tho' *Juan de Velasquez*, to avoid prejudicing the business in which he was employed, dissembled his resentment, yet the abuse thrown upon *Cortes* became so gross and indecent, that *Velasquez* being unable to restrain his indignation, cried with some warmth, that if any man in that company, who did not esteem *Hernando Cortes* and all his followers, as loyal subjects to the King of *Spain*, would let him know his sentiments before fewer witnesses, he would undeceive him in what manner soever he pleased. *Narvaez* was disconcerted with this declaration; but a young officer of the name and family of *Velasquez* replied, that no man was worthy of bearing that name, who attempted to vindicate a traitor. At this reproach *Juan* gave him the lie, and drew his sword, in order to punish him for his insolence, when the company interposed, but found it very difficult to prevent mischief. However, *Velasquez* was at length prevailed upon to sheath his sword, when abruptly leaving the company.

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he immediately returned to *Cortes*, breathing defiance and revenge.

This incident occasioned such murmurs among the officers and soldiers, that *Narvaez*, in order to put a stop to their clamours, was obliged to send a person to *Cortes*, to apologize for what had happened to *Juan de Velasquez*, and to learn the substance of his commission, which he had not fully explained. For this purpose he sent the secretary *Andres de Duero*, who met *Cortes* on his march to an advantageous post, which he intended to occupy till the arrival of the *Chinantlans*. *Duero* and *Cortes* embraced each other like two intimate friends who had met after a long separation, and all the officers received the stranger with joy and respect. But before they proceeded to business, *Cortes* made him a present of some valuable jewels. He was entertained with great magnificence and hospitality, and staid till the next day, to consult about measures for preventing a rupture, which he was sensible would be highly prejudicial to the interest of *Spain*. *Cortes* upon this occasion shewed the greatest moderation, and even proposed to relinquish the *Mexican* conquest to his competitor, while he and his followers should engage in some other expedition. *Andres de Duero* being struck with this instance of his modesty and self-denial, proposed an interview with *Narvaez*, to which *Cortes* immediately agreeing, the Secretary returned to *Zempoalla*, where he also obtained the consent of *Narvaez*. But after the time and place were appointed where they were to meet with only 10 friends on each side, *Cortes* received private advice

from *Duero*, that *Narvaez* had resolved to lay an ambuscade for his life, which being confirmed by others, he wrote to his treacherous enemy to let him know, that he was acquainted with his designs, and to reproach him with his baseness. Having thus given vent to his indignation, he continued his march, and took his station within a league of *Zempoalla*, where his front was defended by a river, and his rear by the neighbourhood of *Vera Cruz*. Having posted proper centinels, and detached a number of scouts, he quartered his people in some cottages, where they were sheltered from the sun, and allowed to take their repose.

Narvaez being informed of this disposition, drew up his army, caused war to be declared, at the head of his troops, with the offer of a reward of 2000 pieces of eight to any person who should bring him *Cortes's* head, and also set a price upon the lives of *Gonzalo de Sandoval* and *Juan Velasquez de Leon*. He then marched to an open field at about a quarter of a league's distance, vainly hoping that *Cortes* would leave his advantageous situation, to engage an enemy, who had three times as many men as himself.

In the evening the weather suddenly grew dark and cloudy, and such a quantity of rain fell, that the soldiers were instantly wet to the skin, and their arms rendered useless, when they cursed the author of their expedition, and with loud clamours insisted upon returning to their quarters. With this request *Narvaez* was obliged to comply, and never imagining that

Cortes

Cortes would pass the river in such a night, retreated in great disorder to *Zempoalla*; and intending to take the field again early in the morning, lodged his troops in the principal temple of the city, which was built upon an eminence, that had an ascent of many ill-contrived steps, which rendered it very difficult of access, on the top of which he planted his artillery. He fixed his head quarters in the middle tower, whither he retired with some officers and about 100 soldiers, on whom he placed the greatest confidence: the rest of the army was distributed in the other tower; some horses were set to patrol in the neighbourhood of the town, and centinels placed in the avenues.

Mean while *Andres de Duero* sent one of his men to apprize *Cortes* of their retreat, and the manner in which they were disposed, merely with the view of his passing the night without any apprehensions of being attacked in his quarters: but *Cortes* no sooner received this information, than he resolved to take advantage of this favourable opportunity. Notwithstanding the continuance of the tempest, he assembled his people without delay, and they having passed the river with the water above their middle, he made a short speech, mentioning the manner in which the enemy were quartered, their carelessness and security; the ease with which they might be attacked and routed in the dark, before they could have time to be drawn up in their defence; and then expatiated on the insolence and treachery of *Narvaez*, and the justice of his own cause. His soldiers being
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thus fired with resentment, called aloud to be led to the enemy.

Cortes instantly formed his troops into three small battalions, the first of which was under the command of *Gonzalo de Sandoval*: The second was led by *Christoval de Oled*, and *Cortes* in person took the command of the rest. *Gonzalo* had orders to begin the attack by mounting the steps, and preventing all communication between the towers: *Christoval* was to assault the tower in which *Narvaez* lodged, while *Cortes* with his men resolved to support both attacks as occasion should require. Orders were given that the drums should beat and the trumpets sound as soon as the action begun, with a view of increasing the terror and confusion of the enemy, and the most profound silence being in the meanwhile recommended, they began their march at a very slow pace to prevent their being fatigued before the action begun, and to allow the enemy time to be lulled in sleep and security. But they had scarcely proceeded half a league when their scouts returned with a centinel whom they had surprized, though his companion found means to escape among the bushes. This accident occasioned a short consultation among the officers, who unanimously thought, that if the soldier should discover them he would take a circuit to the town to avoid danger, and therefore by hastening their march they might probably reach *Zempoalla* as soon as he, and at least should have the advantage of attacking the enemy in the disorder of their first waking.

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They therefore left their houses, baggage and other incumbrances by the side of a little brook, near the road, and pushed forward with all possible haste. But notwithstanding this, the centinel, winged by fear, had arrived a few minutes before them, crying aloud, the enemy is upon us; but being instantly carried before *Narvaez*, he slighted his intelligence, and thought it impossible that *Cortes* should venture to march in such a dark tempestuous night, or presume to attack him with such an handful of men.

A little after midnight *Cortes* reached *Zempoalla* without being discovered by the enemy's cavalry, and not only entered the town, but came in sight of the temple without finding any guards, or being challenged by one centinel. This happened at the very instant when the soldier was telling *Narvaez* that *Cortes* was marching towards the place with his whole army: But though he was disbelieved by that obstinate commander, his soldiers had taken to their arms, and were in some degree prepared for their defence. *Cortes* soon perceiving that he was discovered and had no time to lose, began the attack, by ordering *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to mount the steps, when those who were upon guard with the artillery fired two or three pieces, and their report was instantly succeeded with the noise of the drums, trumpets, and the confused cries of the soldiers, who flew to the defence of the steps. The dispute soon came to the pike and the sword, and *Sandoval* was hard pressed in his attempt to force his way in spite of the disadvantage of the ground, and the
superiority

superiority of numbers; but *De Oled* soon came to his relief, and *Cortes* quitting the rear threw himself sword in hand into the hottest of the engagement, with such impetuosity that nothing could withstand him, so that in a few moments the enemy gave way and soon retreated in great disorder, after having abandoned the artillery, some flying to their quarters, while others repaired to the gate of the principal tower, where the dispute was renewed, and for some time continued with great obstinacy.

Narvaez having put on his armour, exerted his utmost endeavours to rally his scattered troops, and with great resolution rushed into the midst of the battle, where his eye being thrust out with a pike, he fell down crying, *I am a dead man*. This completed the confusion of his soldiers, some of whom abandoned him, while others stood as if they had been thunder-struck, and others again fought with such disorder, that they were easily routed, and their general taken prisoner. An end was now put to the dispute; for the enemy shut themselves up in the towers, while the followers of *Cortes*, having nobody to oppose them, proclaimed their victory with loud acclamations, which served to heighten the apprehensions of the vanquished, whose terror was likewise augmented by the sight of numerous lights in the country, which, though solely produced from a kind of glow-worms, they ridiculously imagined were an army of arquebusiers with lighted matches, and their disordered imaginations made them suppose

pose that these were the auxiliaries of *Cortes* marching to his assistance.

Cortes at length putting a stop to the shouts of the people, caused the artillery to be turned against the towers, and proclaimed a general pardon for those who would surrender, with advantageous conditions to such as would enter into his service, and free liberty to those who were desirous of returning to *Cuba*. This step being taken in the first tumult of their fear, was attended with great success; for these terms were no sooner proposed at the three towers, than both officers and soldiers came in whole companies to surrender, when *Cortes* received them with the greatest kindness, though he caused them to be divided, and put under a proper guard till the light should give him an opportunity of discovering who they were. He then went to visit *Narvaez*. That gentleman having been committed to the care of *Sandoval*, had his wound already dressed, and seeing him enter the apartment, cried, *Thank God Captain Cortes, for your success, in making me your prisoner. Thanks be to God for all things, friend Narvaez, he returned, but, vanity apart, I look upon this victory, and your imprisonment, among the least considerable actions that have been performed in this country.*

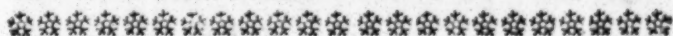
Cortes being now informed that one of the towers, commanded by *Salvatierra* and *Diego Velasquez* the younger, refused to surrender, he ordered two pieces of artillery to be planted against it; but the defendants called for quarters at the very first discharge, when *Juan Velasquez*

lasquez de Leon entered with a small body, and seized *Diego* and *Salvatierra*, who were *Cortes's* inveterate enemies. Thus the victory was obtained with the loss of four men, though the conquered had a Captain, an Ensign, and fifteen private men killed upon the spot.

At day-break the 2000 *Chinantlans* arrived, when *Cortes* was glad of letting his prisoners see, that he was not destitute of allies; while the vanquished were filled with shame, perceiving the small number of men by whom they had been entirely defeated, and cursed their carelessness and the insolence of *Narvaez*. *Cortes* had many friends among them, who desiring to be enlisted in his army, their example was soon followed by all the other prisoners, and not a single man expressed the least inclination to return to *Cuba*.

Thus *Cortes*, by his admirable conduct and bravery, found himself in a few hours at the head of above 1000 *Spaniards*; the only enemies he had to fear, were safe in his custody; he had a fleet of eleven ships and seven brigantines at his disposal, and he had the pleasure of seeing the last effort of *Diego de Velasquez* entirely frustrated. *Narvaez's* horse never engaged in the action; but made their escape into the country, where being united into a troop of forty, they pretended to stand on their defence, but were soon brought to enlist under *Cortes*. At length the sails, tackling, and rudders of all the vessels were brought ashore and laid up in *Vera Cruz*; the pilots and mariners were brought to

to Zempoalla, and the army was allowed to continue some days in quarters for refreshment.



C H A P. XII.

Cortes marches back to Mexico to the Assistance of Alverado, against whom the Mexicans had taken up Arms; where he finds the People in a violent Ferment. His Troops are several Times attacked, and his Offers of Peace rejected. Motezuma, haranguing the Mexicans, in order to persuade them to lay down their Arms, is mortally wounded, and dies, conjuring Cortes to revenge his Fall.

WHILE Cortes continued in his quarters of refreshment, he dismissed the *Chinatlans* with presents, and was visited by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, and by the Caciques of the adjacent countries, who all came to congratulate him upon his success: but, notwithstanding his good fortune, he could not be easy when he reflected upon *Alverado's* situation, since he knew him to be encompassed with enemies, and at the mercy of a Prince who might be persuaded to sacrifice him and his few troops for the advantage of the Empire. He therefore resolved to return to *Mexico*, and that neither *Motezuma* nor his people might be offended at his returning with such a numerous body, he proposed to divide his army, and employ the greatest part of it in other conquests.

While Cortes was taking these measures, a letter from *Alverado* obliged him to alter his scheme. By this letter he was informed, that in spite of

Motexuma, who had never once attempted to leave the quarters, the *Mexicans* had taken up arms, and repeated their attacks with such resolution, that unless he and his men were immediately succoured, they must all inevitably perish: And what was still more extraordinary, the soldier who brought this letter, was accompanied by an Ambassador from *Motexuma*, who pressed *Cortes* to return as soon as possible, and assured him, that tho' his own life should be at stake, he would never abandon *Alverado*.

Upon receiving this intelligence, *Cortes* and his officers unanimously agreed, that no time was to be lost. *Roderigo Rangel*, a person of approved fidelity, was immediately appointed deputy governor of *Vera Cruz*; and a garrison was left at *Zempoalla*, after which the army amounted to 1000 foot and 100 horse. *Cortes* having sent an answer to *Motexuma*, and another to *Alverado*, with an account of his victory, and assurances of his coming to their assistance, began his march, the army taking different routs, in order to be the more easily supplied with provisions. They rendezvoused near *Tlaxcala*, at which city they were received with great joy and affection. That republic stimulated him against the *Mexicans*, and offered to assemble all their troops for his service. He, however, declined the offer, and contented himself with taking a body of 2000 men.

Cortes passed the causeway without the least opposition, notwithstanding his perceiving many marks of the fury of the *Mexicans*. For his two brigantines were staved to pieces; and half

half burnt. On his entering *Mexico*, the suburbs were abandoned; the bridges, by which the streets had a communication with each other, were broken down, and a profound silence reigned over the city. These suspicious symptoms made *Cortes* order the infantry to slacken their pace, while the cavalry marched before to reconnoitre: but the *Spaniards* who had been left in the city, soon discovering the army, raised a great shout, and removed his apprehensions. *Pedro de Alverado* with his people received them at the gate of his quarters, in a transport of joy, and *Motexuma* himself went to the outward court to meet *Cortes*, whom he embraced with all the marks of a sincere affection.

Cortes having taken proper measures for the security of the troops, retired with *Alverado*, to inquire into the cause of that sedition among the *Mexicans*, which had put him in such danger; when that officer informed him, that soon after his departure the nobles had behaved with less respect than usual. That from the information of a trusty spy he learned that they held frequent assemblies in private, and that a conspiracy was concerted against the *Spaniards*, in which it was agreed to assemble the inhabitants under the pretence of celebrating annual dances called *Mitates*, when the nobles were to harangue the populace, and immediately proceed to the *Spanish* quarters, in order to extirpate the insolent strangers, who kept their Emperor prisoner, and treated even their Gods with contempt.

On the morning preceding the day appointed, some of the chief persons in this sedition, came to desire *Alverado's* permission to celebrate their festival. However he was that very night informed that they were very busy in concealing considerable quantities of arms in houses near the temple, upon which he resolved to anticipate the execution of their scheme, by attacking them before they should have time either to take arms, or to raise the populace. This ill-judged scheme he put in execution. He left the fort with his 50 men under the pretence of seeing the diversion, and perceiving the *Mexicans* intoxicated with liquor, attacked and dispersed them without opposition; many of them being killed and wounded in their flight: the *Spaniards* stripped them of their jewels and other ornaments; after which *Alverado* retired without even taking the necessary step of acquainting the people, with his motives for committing this action, whence it was naturally imputed to his avarice. The people incensed at seeing the nobility slaughtered and pillaged before their eyes, now ran to arms, and raised a very formidable insurrection. They had several times attacked the *Spanish* quarters, and being so successful as to kill three or four *Spaniards*, their courage was raised to such a height, that instead of dreading the resentment of *Cortes*, and his troops, which were so greatly increased, they retired to another part of the town, leaving the entrance open, that by giving the *Spaniards* an opportunity of being united, they might surround and destroy them at once.

Cortes

Cortes censured *Alverado* very severely for his rashness in leaving the quarters, when the city was in such a commotion; blamed him for concealing from *Motexuma* the first intelligence he had received, and for retiring without having informed the populace of the cause of such a violent assault, and made *Alverado* so sensible of his indiscretion, that he desired to be imprisoned, in order to facilitate the reduction of the enraged multitude.

The *Mexicans* made no attempt that night, but the same mysterious silence prevailing the next morning, *Cortes* ordered *Diego de Ordaz* to march through the principal streets, at the head of 400 *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* soldiers, and if possible to penetrate into their designs. But *Diego* had not proceeded far, when he observed a body of armed men, which had been detached on purpose to draw him farther from the quarters. He accordingly advanced a considerable way in order to take some prisoners; but was all at once opposed by an innumerable multitude, who ran boldly up to his front, while another army, which had been concealed in the cross streets, attacked him in the rear: at the same time all the terraces and windows on each side were crowded with armed men, who showered upon them an infinite number of arrows, darts and stones. *Diego* perceiving his retreat cut off, so as to prevent his informing *Cortes* of his danger, ordered his rear to face about, and part of his men to exert themselves with their swords and pikes below, while his fire arms were used against those above. The heat of the engage-

ment was however but of a short continuance, for notwithstanding the fury with which the *Mexicans* advanced, their attacks were made in so tumultuous a manner that they were soon thrown into confusion, and retired to a distance, where they could neither offend nor be offended, and the windows and terraces, being at the same time cleared by the fire arms, *Diego* endeavoured to make his retreat, though he was obliged to cut his way sword in hand. In this engagement he left seven soldiers dead upon the spot, and both himself and the greatest part of his men were wounded.

This event rendered *Cortes* but too sensible that there was no room for negotiation. He therefore resolved to sally out with the greatest part of his forces, in order to oblige them to sue for an accommodation. In the mean time the *Mexicans* looked upon *Diego's* retreat as a flight, and followed him with inconceivable fury, till they were terrified and driven back by the artillery from the *Spanish* quarters, which made a dreadful slaughter. They however halted within sight, and the streets were soon filled again with armed men, whose drums and shells sounding the signal for an assault, they advanced with prodigious impetuosity. Their rear was composed of archers, who were designed to clear the walls, that the rest of the army might approach, and such showers of arrows were discharged, that the *Spaniards* were soon obliged to employ a number of hands to remove them, to prevent their blocking up the way to the ramparts. While the archers were thus engaged, the rest,

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notwithstanding the dreadful havock made among them by the cannon and small arms, advanced to the very gates, which they endeavoured to cut in pieces, with instruments edged with flint. Some leaped upon the shoulders of their companions, and others made ladders of their pikes and lances in order to scale the walls; one set of men were no sooner wounded and fell, but their place was supplied by others, who, as if they had been strangers to fear and compassion, trampled upon the bodies of their friends, and fought like wild beasts made doubly furious by famine and revenge. They were however at last repulsed, when they retired for cover to the cross streets, where they staid till the approach of night, and then raised another terrible alarm, by beginning a very different kind of fight, for by shooting fire-arrows into the quarters, they produced a dreadful conflagration in several parts of the building, which forced the *Spaniards* to break down walls, to prevent the communication of the flames, and then to labour the greatest part of the night in repairing the breaches they had made, in order to put themselves again in a posture of defence.

The next morning the enemy appeared at a distance, and though afraid of advancing within cannon shot, challenged the *Spaniards* to come out to battle, with many injurious reproaches. Cortes, who had resolved to make a sally, took this opportunity to inflame the minds of his soldiers with a short speech, and finding them impatient of delay, divided his whole force into three battalions, two of which were directed

to

to clear the cross streets, while he himself took the large street, where the greatest body of the enemy was posted. The *Mexicans* stood the first charge without giving ground, and even fought hand to hand with their clubs and two-handed swords, which they wielded with incredible fury, nor could the fire-arms put a stop to the showers of stones and javelins that were thrown from the windows and balconies, till fire was set to some of the houses. The *Mexicans* however at last gave way; but as they retreated, broke down the bridges of the streets, which obliged the *Spaniards* to fill up the canals, before they could prosecute the victory. While *Cortes* was thus advancing, the two battalions charged the multitude that had possession of the streets on the sides, and drove the enemy before them, till they entered a large square, where the three divisions joined, when the *Mexicans* betook themselves to flight, with as much precipitation as they had before made their attack.

Cortes did not think proper to allow his men to engage in the pursuit, but having lost ten or twelve soldiers in the action, retired without opposition. The loss of the enemy was so great, that the dead bodies lay in heaps, and the canals of the city were tinged with blood. *Cortes* allotted three days for the refreshment of his troops, during which he renewed his overtures of peace, by means of some *Mexicans*, who were in *Motexuma's* service; but at the same time continued to observe the strictest vigilance and precaution, and among other stratagems contrived four wooden towers to run upon wheels,

wheels, each of which was capable of containing 20 or 30 men, who might fight under cover, set houses on fire, and destroy their barricados raised in the principal streets. Having finished these machines, he made a second sally with the principal part of the *Spaniards*, together with the whole body of *Tlascalans*, who had fought with great bravery in the last engagement. He also took some pieces of artillery, the wooden towers, and a few led horses, that were to be used occasionally.

The *Mexicans* were now commanded by the principal nobles, who had greatly augmented the army, and waited for the *Spaniards* in profound silence; but the latter had no sooner begun their march, than they were suddenly surprised with the hoarse and disagreeable sound of their sea-shells and drums, added to the shouts of an innumerable multitude, which advanced with unusual regularity, and amazing resolution, giving and receiving the first charges without being disordered. When they were forced to give way, they retired leisurely, without turning their backs, and renewed the fight at every canal, or barricado, with such obstinacy, that they were not to be dislodged without the artillery. They discharged their arrows and lances in a regular manner. Some swam about the canals searching for opportunities to wound the *Spaniards* with long pikes, while others cast from the windows, balconies, and terraces, large stones and fragments of rocks provided for that purpose, by which the moving towers were soon shattered to pieces: and, in short, the battle

was

was fought with such method and alacrity, as plainly proved that it was conducted by a general in chief.

The engagement continued the greatest part of the day, during which a great number of the *Mexicans* lost their lives, and the city was much damaged by the burning of the houses. The *Spaniards* and their confederates were repulsed with such bravery, that they were obliged to dispute the ground by inches, and night drawing on before *Cortes* had made much progress, he found it would be impossible for him to maintain the posts he had gained, and therefore retired to his quarters, with the loss of 40 men, who were chiefly *Tlascalans*, and with 50 *Spaniards* much wounded, he himself having received a shot with an arrow in his left hand. He now began seriously to reflect, that notwithstanding all the advantages he had obtained over the *Mexicans*, his numbers in a series of such victories would be greatly diminished, and that in case of a general revolt against *Motexuma*, they might easily starve him in his quarters; nor was the Emperor himself under less uneasiness. From the highest turret of the palace he had observed the battle, and could easily distinguish the Cacique of *Iztapalapa*, and other nobles who might aspire to the Empire. He dreaded the loss of his crown, and being sensible that he could never restore his subjects to obedience while the *Spaniards* remained in *Mexico*, he sent for *Cortes* the next morning, told him his sentiments, and intreated him to leave the city, that he might return to his own palace,

palace, resume the reins of government, and quell the seditions of his people.

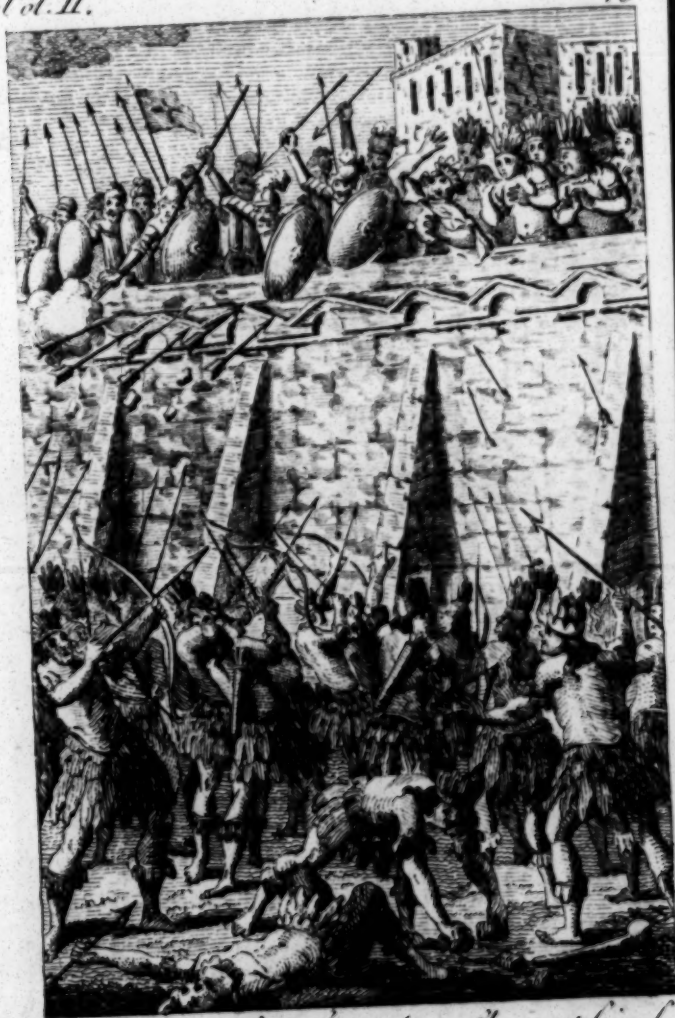
Cortes readily consented to this proposal, and resolved to retire for the present, that he might have leisure to concert a new plan, and be enabled to execute it with a better prospect of success: but his conference with the Emperor was interrupted, by his being told that the enemy was advancing with great fury, to make a general attack upon the quarters. They rushed on with prodigious impetuosity, and in spite of the havock made among them by the artillery and small arms, behaved with such bravery that some of them got over the walls, which obliged *Cortes* to form a body of reserve in the principal court, whence he occasionally sent detachments to support such as were hard pressed or fatigued with action.

While the assault was thus carrying on with amazing vigour, *Moteczuma* proposed to shew himself to the people from the wall, in order to command the populace to retire, and order the nobles to come unarmed into his presence, that he might take proper measures to redress their grievances. This motion being approved by *Cortes*, the Emperor immediately adorned himself with the ensigns of royalty, the crown, the mantle, and the jewels worn on the most solemn occasions, and then mounted the terrace, with the principal *Mexicans* who continued in his service, one of whom advancing to the rails, called with a loud voice, that the great *Moteczuma* had condescended to come forth, and redress their grievances. His name was no sooner
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mentioned, than the outcries of the people ceased, and they stood silent and motionless, as if awed by something supernatural, and when he appeared, the whole multitude humbled themselves to the earth. He looked round him with a majestic air, and distinguishing the nobles in the crowd, desired them severally by name to approach, thanked them for the zeal and affection they had shewn in his service, and represented to the people that they were actuated by a principle of mistaken loyalty; that his residing among the *Spaniards* was not the effect of compulsion; that he was resolved to dismiss them from his court, and therefore desired his subjects to lay down their arms.

This condescension made such an impression upon the hearers, who had been used to obey him with fear and trembling, that many wept to see the Emperor so humbled, and the rest hung down their heads, and stood in silence and suspense. But these favourable dispositions were soon changed. Some of the Emissaries belonging to the Cacique, who hoped to succeed *Moteczuma*, upbraiding that Prince with being a coward, a prisoner, and a slave, raised a clamour among the people, and instantly turned their compassion into such rage, that they cursed him, and uttered the most opprobrious invectives. The motions he made with his hand and head were now disregarded; and his efforts to speak rendered ineffectual, by their repeated shouts, 'till at length they let fly a shower of arrows against him. Two soldiers being near him, endeavoured to cover him with their bucklers; but in spite of
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Moctezuma slain by a Stone flung at him by the Mexicans as he stood upon the Wall of the Spanish Quarters.

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all their care, he was wounded in several places, and received a terrible blow with a stone upon one of his temples, which brought him to the ground. *Cortes* having caused him to be carried to his apartment, resolved to be revenged on the authors of this misfortune. But he then could find no enemy on whom he could wreak his revenge; for the Emperor no sooner fell, than the *Mexicans*, struck with horror and consternation, instantly fled.

Motexuma had scarcely recovered his senses, than he became frantic with rage; imprecated the most dreadful curses upon his rebellious subjects, and refused to listen to the remonstrances and consolations of *Cortes*, who in vain endeavoured to comfort him. He tore the bandages and plaisters from his wounds, and even attempted to put an end to his life, which made it necessary to restrain him by force, and then he absolutely refused to take any manner of sustenance. The wound in his head was very dangerous, and the agitation of his mind soon rendered it mortal. *Cortes* joined with Father *Bartholomew de Olmedo* in persuading him to renounce his idolatry; but all their arguments were to no purpose, and he expired after having conjured the General to revenge his death.

Motexuma's unhappy fate filled *Cortes* with great concern. He had an affection for that Prince, and all his hopes had centered in his voluntary submission to the King of *Spain*. He was now obliged to form a new plan, and to quit all the advantages he enjoyed by his influence at the court of *Mexico*. The first step he

took, was appointing six of *Motexuma's* principal attendants, some of whom were Priests, to carry out his body to the rebels, with orders to tell the Princes who headed them, that he had sent them the corpse of their late Sovereign, whom they themselves had murdered, and who, before his death, had earnestly conjured him to revenge his wrongs, and chastise them for their abominable rebellion. But as he imagined that the insurrection was not approved by the nobles, he once more proposed peace, and was ready to agree to any reasonable conditions; but should they neglect his proposal he would treat them as the worst of rebels; and as his respect for *Motexuma* could no longer moderate his resentment, he would lay waste their city with fire and sword.

The bearers of the corpse were met at a small distance from the quarters by a body of the inhabitants, who threw down their arms, and followed their deceased Sovereign with the most profound reverence and respect. The city was instantly filled with lamentations, and though another Emperor was already elected, they testified their repentance by the strongest expressions of sorrow, repeating the name of *Motexuma*, and running about the streets in clamorous tumults till the next morning, when they conveyed the body to the mountain of *Chapulteque*, where it was interred with great solemnity.

Thus fell the great *Motexuma*, the most powerful Emperor that had ever filled the *Mexican* throne. He had reigned seventeen years, was
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by HERNANDO CORTES. 175

the eleventh in the number of Emperors, and the second of that name. He left four sons, and three daughters: two of the former, who lived with their father in his confinement, were afterwards killed by the *Mexicans* in *Cortes's* retreat. The daughters afterwards embraced the christian religion, and were married to *Spaniards*; but the most distinguished of his descendants was one of *Motexuma's* sons, who at his baptism took the name of *Don Pedro de Motexuma*, and received many favours from his most Catholic Majesty, who gave him considerable possessions in *New Spain*, with the title of Count of *Motexuma*, which his posterity still enjoy.



C H A P. XIII.

The War carried on afresh against Cortes, who escapes the most imminent Dangers, and every where defeats the Indians. He retires from Mexico, with his Army, by Night; but is assaulted in his Retreat, and loses many Men; however, he at length obtains a great Victory over the united Forces of Mexico, by seizing the Royal Standard.

THE *Mexicans* made no attempt upon the *Spanish* quarters while the Emperor remained ill of his wounds, which *Cortes* attributed to their being filled with horror at the thoughts of the crime they had committed; but it was really owing to the nobility being wholly employed in the inauguration of *Quilavaca*,

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Cacique

Cacique of *Iztapalapa*, whom they raised to the throne.

The *Mexicans*, instead of listening to the proposal made by *Motexuma's* servants, renewed the war with greater vigour than ever; and on the morning that succeeded the late Emperor's funeral, all the streets were, by break of day, filled with armed men. They had also put a strong garrison in the towers of the temple, which commanded part of the *Spanish* quarters. This important post, which was defended by 500 chosen men of the nobility, *Cortes* resolved at all events to carry. He therefore drew the greatest part of his strength out of the quarters, and having formed several battalions, sufficient to cut off all communication between the towers and the *Indians* in the streets, he ordered Captain *Escobar* with a considerable detachment, to attack the temple, which was of difficult access. That officer marched to the lower porch without opposition; but suddenly the defendants from the upper porch discharged such a shower of lances, arrows, large stones, and half-burnt beams of timber provided for that purpose, that the assailants were thrown into disorder, and obliged to retreat in confusion, after their having returned three times to the attack.

Mean while *Cortes* was at the head of a troop of horse, busily employed in supporting those who most needed his assistance; but seeing *Escobar* defeated, he instantly quitted his horse; caused a shield to be fastened to his arm on account of the wound in his hand, then flying to his assistance, advanced to the stairs with such intrepidity

pidity as inspired his followers with the ambition to imitate his example. In an instant the action was renewed with surprizing obstinacy. The brave defendants fought hand to hand like men resolved rather to die than to surrender. The very Priests fell fighting valiantly, exhorting the people to shew their courage in defence of their Gods, and they all suffered themselves to be cut in pieces to a man, before the *Spaniards* could get possession of the post. In the heat of this engagement, two *Mexicans* who had devoted their lives to the service of their country, seeing *Cortes* upon a tower, threw down their arms, ran up to him, and stooping down like supplicants, seized him, and endeavoured to throw him over the rails: but after struggling with him for some time, he had the good fortune to disengage himself; upon which, they threw themselves headlong from the tower, and their brains were dashed out against the pavement.

Cortes then seized a considerable quantity of provisions which he found in the temple, and ordered it to be conveyed to his quarters; which being done, he commanded the *Tlascalans* to set fire to several houses, that the artillery might command the whole edifice. He then took a view of the engagement below, and perceiving the *Spaniards* closely pressed in the principal street which they defended with great difficulty, he immediately mounted his horse, and hastened to their assistance, ordering *Escobar* to follow with his men, with all possible expedition. In the mean time he attacked the multitude at the head of his cavalry, killing or wounding all

who opposed him, but rushing too far before the rest of his troops, his retreat was cut off. Upon this he entered another street, where he hoped to meet with less resistance, and there he fell in among a body of *Mexicans*, who had taken *Andres de Duero*, and were conveying him alive to offer him as a sacrifice to their Gods. *Cortes* instantly flew upon them with such fury, as threw the whole party into confusion, and *Duero* took this opportunity of drawing a dagger, which they had overlooked, when they had attempted to disarm him, and instantly freed himself by the death of those who held him; then recovering his horse and lance, the two friends broke through all opposition. The *Mexicans* now retired with great precipitation, and the General returned with his troops into the quarters, after they had made a dreadful havock among the enemy, and burnt a considerable part of the city.

The next day the enemy desired a parley, which being granted by *Cortes*, several of the nobles approached the walls, and in the name of the new Emperor, proposed that the *Spaniards* should instantly march down to the sea side, and leave the country, upon which condition they promised to put an end to all hostilities; but observed, that should he reject this proposal they must all inevitably perish; for as they were now convinced by experience, that the *Spaniards* were mortal, they were resolved to continue their attacks, and though the death of every Christian should cost them 20,000 lives, they would have a number left sufficient to rejoice at their success.

To this *Cortes* replied, that the *Spaniards* did not pretend to be immortal, though they were so superior to the *Mexicans*, that with his handful of men he would destroy the whole Empire; but being moved by the calamities, they, through their own obstinacy, had suffered, he was resolved to depart, and that he only waited till the necessary preparations were made for his march, and other articles agreed upon for the reciprocal advantage of both parties. The nobles seemed pleased with this answer, though the overtures they had made were intended to answer a very different purpose. It had been agreed by the new Emperor and his council, that instead of exposing themselves to such terrible slaughter, as the people had always suffered from the artillery and other fire-arms, they should distress the *Spaniards* by famine, and amuse them with negotiations, till they should be weakened and dispirited by hunger, when they might fall upon them to greater advantage. They recollected that *Motexuma's* three sons and other persons of distinction were prisoners in the *Spanish* quarters, but willingly devoted them as sacrifices to the good of their country, except their chief Priest, whom they resolved if possible to deliver.

The Deputies therefore returned the same evening with a proposal, that some of the *Mexican* prisoners should be sent with instructions to the Emperor, artfully hinting that the most proper person would be a certain ancient Priest, who being an intelligent man would be able to remove whatever difficulties might be started.

Cortes

Cortes readily assented to the proposal, and made the Priest acquainted with his demands in relation to the necessaries he should want in his march, resolving if he should return to explain himself with respect to their laying down their arms and delivering hostages. But they had not the least intention to send him back, or to come to an amicable agreement, which was very evident from the centinel's discovering, that they were employed in making trenches to defend the passage of the canals, in breaking down the bridges of the principal causeway, and cutting off all communication with the road leading to *Tlascala*. *Cortes* was greatly alarmed at this intelligence, and immediately ordered a portable bridge to be made strong enough to bear the weight of the artillery, and so light as to be carried by 40 soldiers.

Men were immediately employed in making this bridge, and at the same time *Cortes* assembled his Captains, in order to consult whether they should retreat by day or by night; for he was resolved to retire to *Tlascala*, and there to take measures for laying siege to the city of *Mexico*. The majority of the officers proposed a retreat by night, on account of the superstition of the *Mexicans*, which made it unusual for them to engage an enemy after sun-set, and from the difficulty of attacking them in the canoes in the dark. This was however warmly opposed by *Cortes*, and several others; but the question being put to the vote, the majority declared for the first proposal, to which *Cortes* assented, and it was resolved to give the enemy

as little time as possible to form obstructions, by beginning their march that very night. The carpenters had no sooner finished the bridge, which was to be moved from one opening in the causeway to another, than *Cortes* sent another *Mexican* in order to amuse the enemy with farther proposals of peace, while he made the proper dispositions for his retreat. His van-guard he ordered to consist of 200 *Spanish* soldiers, with the choicest of the *Tlascalans*, and 20 horse; The rear-guard was to consist of a still larger number of horse and foot; and the prisoners, the artillery and baggage, with the main body of the army, were to be in the centre. This order being fixed, he caused the treasure to be brought into his apartment, and taking one fifth for the King, in what was most portable, he delivered it to the commissary with some wounded horses for the carriage; but the remainder which amounted to upwards of 700,000 pieces of eight he proposed to leave as a dangerous incumbrance; but finding the soldiers unwilling to lose their share, he gave them leave to take what they could conveniently carry, in consequence of which some of most avaritious, who were among those who came with *Narvaez*, loaded themselves so heavily, that they staggered under their burdens.

Cortes having taken these previous steps, encouraged the soldiers by a short speech, and about midnight they began their march with great silence and circumspection, being favoured by the wetness of the weather, and the darkness of the night. The bridge which was carried in
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the front was laid over the first canal before they met with the least opposition ; but the weight of the artillery and horse jammed it so fast, that they found it impracticable to remove it, and indeed they had not time to use much pains about it; for before the army had passed the first breach of the causeway, they were suddenly attacked on all sides; for the enemy having observed their motions, had assembled their troops and canoes with such expedition and silence, that the lake was covered on each side of the causeway. The attack began with great regularity, before they were observed, and had the *Mexicans* continued to preserve the same good order during the engagement, *Cortes* and his whole army must have perished. But they soon returned to their usual way of charging in confusion, by which means many of the canoes were dashed to pieces against each other, and the *Spaniards* made a dreadful slaughter. They were attacked in front by a vast number, who being impatient till they came to action, had thrown themselves into the lake, and clambered up the causeway in order to dispute the passage; but they were so crowded, that they had scarcely room to make use of their weapons, and the slaughter was according to some authors so great, as to supply a sufficient number of bodies, to form a passage for the *Spaniards* in the lake: But other authors alledge, that the enemy left the beam of the second bridge on which the soldiers passed over in files, leading their horses through the water by the bridles.

Cortes

Cortes on his reaching the shore ordered the men to be formed as fast as they arrived, and then returning to the causeway, entered into the engagement, and animated the men by his presence and example. He caused each side of the causeway to be lined with soldiers, who were to repel the enemy while the rest marched between them in the centre, and to facilitate the march, he ordered the artillery to be thrown into the water, but notwithstanding all his vigilance, part of the rear guard was cut in pieces, the bridge being destroyed by the *Mexicans* in the canoes before these unhappy men could pass it, and these chiefly consisted of those who had so overloaded themselves with treasure, that they were incapable of exerting themselves in their own defence.

The army having passed over the lake by break of day, halted near *Tabuca*, to give time to those who had escaped from the battle to join their friends; a precaution which saved the lives of several *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, who had swam ashore, and concealed themselves in some fields of maize till the morning. These brought intelligence that the last division of the rear guard was intirely cut off, and the troops being reviewed, their loss was found to amount to about 200 *Spaniards*, above 1000 *Tlascalans*, and 46 horses, with all the *Mexican* prisoners, who, in the darkness and confusion of the night were treated as enemies by their own countrymen. The *Spaniards* were much dejected at finding how greatly their number was diminished; at the loss of their artillery, and at the

apprehension of being every moment again assaulted, while they were oppressed with fatigue. Their affliction was increased by the loss of some excellent officers, among whom was *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, who brought up the rear, and was overpowered by numbers.

Had the *Spaniards* been now attacked, before they had time to refresh themselves, and recover their spirits after the fatigue of the battle, they would in all probability have been easily destroyed; but an event which they considered as extremely unfortunate, prolonged their lives, by giving them time for repose. It has already been observed that all the *Mexican* prisoners were killed in the engagement, and in the morning when the enemy went to strip the dead, they found three of *Motexuma's* sons, whom they had killed with their arrows. At this spectacle they were amazed and stupified, the troops were seized with consternation, and the news of this event soon reached the new Emperor; he ordered the bodies of these unhappy Princes to be conveyed to the burying-place of their ancestors, and all the inhabitants attending their funeral, afforded the *Spaniards* this seasonable respite.

Mean while *Cortes* marched with great caution towards *Tlascala*, suspecting that the enemy's delay proceeded from some design, which had been formed against him, and indeed the *Spaniards* had not proceeded far, before they observed several companies of armed men following the army at a distance. These were some of the inhabitants of several cities whom the *Mexicans* had ordered to observe the motions

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of the *Spaniards*, and retard their march, till they themselves had discharged their last duty to the sons of *Moteczuma*. At length the whole body of the *Mexicans* appeared, and joining the others, attacked the army with great impetuosity. *Cortes* placed his fire-arms and cross-bows in the front, and then ordered the horse to advance and charge the *Indians*, which they did with great success; but their enemies continually increasing, the *Spaniards* were fatigued with killing them, and began to despair of their ever being able to rout such a prodigious multitude, when *Cortes*, perceiving an edifice with turrets on the top of an eminence near the field of battle, resolved to gain that post, which he effected, though with great difficulty. As this building was a temple, that had a spacious court, encompassed by a wall and several towers, it was easily defended. The *Spaniards* here found shelter from the danger to which they had been exposed, and on account of this signal relief, afterwards erected an hermitage on the spot, which is still known by the name of *Nuestra Sennora de Los Remedios*, or *Our Lady of Relief*.

The *Mexicans* approached near the walls, but having discharged a great number of arrows, retired towards *Mexico*; however, the *Spaniards* perceived from the tops of the towers that they halted in the plain, where they divided into several bodies. *Cortes*, having posted his guards and centinels, ordered fires to be made to burn the arrows that lay in heaps about the place. The men were refreshed with some provisions they found in the temple, and

with what the *Indians* had saved with their baggage, and had their wounds dressed, the linen horse-cloths serving for lint and bandages. These necessary tasks being performed, *Cortes* called a council of his officers, and proposed, as this post could not be maintained for want of provisions, and as they could not hope to make their retreat while surrounded by such a multitude of the enemy, they should seize this opportunity of continuing their march during the night, in order that they might be two or three leagues from the *Mexicans* the next morning. This proposal being unanimously approved, some hours rest were allotted for the refreshment of the people, who were dreadfully fatigued, and most of them wounded, and at midnight they retired from the temple, leaving the fires burning in order to deceive the enemy. The vanguard, which was provided with guides, proceeded about half a league without interruption; but on their entering some hilly grounds, several ambuscades were discovered, formed by the militia of the neighbouring towns; but these slight skirmishes did not obstruct the march of the *Spaniards*, who having advanced two leagues, entered before day-break into another temple, upon an eminence, being induced to take up their residence there, from their fancying that they saw at a distance some detachments from the *Mexican* army; but the approaching light no sooner discovered their mistake, than they continued their march two leagues farther, to a village advantageously situated, which was deserted by its inhabitants, and

and there they staid two days till the wounded were again able to travel. They now marched two days through a rocky and barren country, at a distance from the great road, which they purposely avoided, being without shelter in the night; perpetually persecuted by flying parties of *Indians*, and exposed to the extremes of hunger and thirst, which they endeavoured to assuage by means of the herbs and roots they discovered, till the death of one of the wounded horses afforded relief to those who were thought in the greatest extremity. In the last of these marches, they reached a village, where the inhabitants provided every thing for their entertainment with an air of frankness and hospitality; which was no more than an ill-judged stratagem designed to lull the *Spaniards* into a careless security.

Early the next morning the army ascended a mountain, on the other side of which was the valley of *Otumba*, when *Marina* observed that the *Indians*, who still followed at a distance, shouted and frequently exclaimed, "Proceed, tyrants, you'll soon arrive at the place where you will all perish." *Cortes* took all possible precaution to prevent being surprized; but on his reaching the top of the mountain, he found the passage of the troops effectually obstructed by an immense multitude of armed men, who covered the extensive plain of *Otumba*. These were the *Indians* they encountered at the first temple, reinforced by vast numbers of people from *Mexico*, with the principal nobles at their head, who had separated into several bodies,

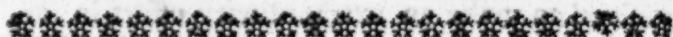
and marched by different roads with such expedition as to get the start of the *Spaniards* and unite in this spacious plain, where there was no danger of their being embarrassed for want of room. The front of the army, which appeared, from the diversity of the colours and standards, to be of different nations, extended along the whole breadth of the valley, but the eye could not reach the extremity of the rear. In the centre appeared the Captain-General of the Empire, borne in a sumptuous chariot, upon men's shoulders, that he might the better judge of emergencies, and see his orders punctually obeyed. Near him was the royal standard of *Mexico*, which was a net of massy gold, fastened to a pike, crowned with a plume of variegated feathers, and this standard was never brought into the fields but upon the most extraordinary occasions. Indeed this vast army, with the motions of their different weapons, and their feathers waving in the wind, formed an appearance that was at once beautiful and tremendous.

Cortes, having taking a view of this dreadful army, turned with alacrity to his soldiers, and told them that they must either conquer or die; but was immediately interrupted by his men, who called out, that he should give the word and lead them to battle. He was unwilling to balk their ardour, and having ranged them in order, immediately advanced. The soldiers gave no stroke either with their lances or swords, but what was fatal. The horse broke and trampled under foot those dead bodies, that endeavour-

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to flank or inclose the army, and the *Tlascalans* rushed into the thickest part of the enemy. In the first effort the *Spaniards* gained ground; but the *Mexicans* fought with great obstinacy, and no sooner was one corps cut in pieces, than it was succeeded by another: The battle being continually renewed by fresh supplies of men; so that the *Spaniards* must at last have been spent with incessant labour and fatigue. *Cortes*, who fought on horseback, succoured those who most needed his assistance, carrying death and terror wherever he came. While he was in this situation, and was reflecting that the strength of his men must soon fail, he recollected that he had heard among the *Mexicans*, that the whole success of the battle depended upon the royal standard, the losing of which decided the fortune of the day. Upon which he instantly resolved to make an extraordinary effort in order to obtain it, and commanded *Sandoval Alverado De Olid*, and *Davila*, to follow and secure his rear, while he, with his troop of horse, charged that part which appeared weakest and nearest the centre. This troop trod down whole battalions, and soon cut their way to the place where the Imperial standard was defended by a guard composed of the nobles; when *Cortes* spurring his horse through the midst of them, wounded the Captain-General, and threw him from his chariot with the first stroke of his lance, and *Juan de Salamanca*, a private gentleman, leaped from his horse, dispatched the General, and seizing the standard, gave it into the hands of *Cortes*.

The *Mexicans* no sooner beheld the imperial standard in the power of the *Spaniards*, than they struck all the rest of their colours, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight; while the victorious *Spaniards* made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, 20,000 *Indians* being said to be killed in the battle and pursuit. On the side of the *Spaniards* some were wounded, of which number two or three died at *Tlascala*, and *Cortes* himself received a violent blow on his head with a stone, which battered his head-piece, and made a small fracture in his skull. The spoils which *Cortes* divided among the soldiers, was very considerable: for the *Mexicans*, depending upon their number, which amounted to 200,000, came adorned with their best jewels, as to a certain triumph.



C H A P. XIV.

Cortes marches to the City of Tlascala, where the Spaniards met with a joyful Reception. The Tlascalans receive an Embassy from the new Emperor of Mexico, to excite them to take Arms against the Spaniards, and Xicotencal privately espouses their Cause; but is discovered. Cortes defeats the Tepeacans. Another Mexican Army attacks the Spaniards, and is intirely routed.

THE *Spaniards* now pursued their march, but not without some suspicion of being again attacked, as several bodies of men were seen

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The Royal Standard of Mexico seiz'd, which occasions the entire overthrow of the Indians.

seen on the tops of the mountains, but they proceeded without molestation, and the next day they entered the confines of *Tlascal*, when the whole army expressed their joy by loud acclamations, and the *Tlascalans* kissed the earth. Here they rested themselves by a fine spring of fresh water, when *Cortes* observed to the people the great importance of preserving the friendship of the *Tlascalans*, exhorting them to treat the inhabitants of the city with kindness and civility, and to avoid giving offence to the meanest citizen. At noon *Cortes* entered *Gualipar*, a considerable town, where he was received with great hospitality, and having quartered his troops there, he sent two *Tlascalans* to the Senate with an account of his retreat and success; but the messengers were scarcely dismissed, when he was visited by *Magiscatzin*, *Old Xicotencal*, with his son, and others deputed by the Senate to compliment him upon his return. They congratulated him upon his victory, testified the deepest concern for his wounds, lamented the loss of so many *Spaniards*, inveighed against the *Mexicans*, and offered to assist him in his revenge with all the forces of the republic and her allies. They proposed his immediately proceeding to the city, where quarters were already provided for the *Spaniards*. But he chose to remain in his present situation, till his people should be refreshed and intirely recovered from their fatigues, to which the *Tlascalans* the more readily assented, as this would give them time to prepare for his reception,

ception, and his entering the city in a solemn triumph.

The *Spaniards* were liberally supplied with necessaries at the expence of the public, during a stay of three days at *Gualipar*, when adorning themselves with the plumes and jewels of the vanquished *Mexicans* they began their march for *Tlascala*, which they entered in *July 1520*. The Senate in their richest robes came out with a numerous attendance to receive them; the fields were crowded with people; the air was filled with acclamations, and they were saluted at their entrance with the sounds of flutes, drums and horns. The festival kept in honour of their triumph, continued some days, during which the *Tlascalans* celebrated the victory with all the diversions practised in that part of the world. They contended in leaping, wrestling, running, and shooting with arrows at a mark, and in the evenings were exhibited different kinds of rope-dancing, with a kind of masquerade. *Cortes* was deeply moved with the affection they shewed on this occasion: his officers behaved towards these faithful allies with the utmost cordiality, and the common soldiers generously shared with them the jewels and other spoils they had obtained from the *Mexicans*.

But in the midst of this festival a damp was given to the public joy by *Cortes's* illness. The wound in his head broke out afresh, he was seized with a dangerous fever, and his friends began to despair of his life. The mirth of *Tlascala* was instantly changed into mourning,
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and both the nobles and people expressed their concern, by constantly enquiring after his health. But the Senate employing the most expert physicians of the country, he speedily recovered.

Cortes now impatiently longed to know the state of affairs at *Vera Cruz*, and therefore sent a letter to the Governor, by an *Indian* courier, who soon returned with an answer, that no alteration had yet happened in the garrison or on the coast, and that *Narvaez* and *Salvatierra* were still in safe custody; but that a corporal and eight foldiers, who had been sent to *Tlascala* for the gold belonging to the garrison, were not returned; that it was reported among the *Indians*, that they were murdered in the province of *Tepeaca*, and that it was feared the wounded soldiers belonging to *Narvaez* had met with the same fate; for being impatient to reach *Mexico*, which they considered as the centre of their wealth, they as fast as they recovered, had marched away from *Zempoalla* for that city. Indeed the truth of this report was now confirmed by the *Tlascalans*, who had hitherto concealed it from *Cortes*, lest it should retard his recovery, and he had the mortification to find himself thus deprived of a reinforcement of near 50 *Spaniards*, who had been destroyed by the *Indians* of *Tepeaca*. *Cortes* therefore resolved to be revenged on that nation, which lay between him and *Vera Cruz*, and the *Tlascalans* promised to interest themselves in the quarrel.

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At this time Ambassadors from the new Emperor of *Mexico* arrived at *Gualipar*, whence they sent to desire leave of the Senate to enter the city, with proposals of peace, and this being granted with the consent of *Cortes* they made their public entry with great splendour and solemnity, preceded by the carriers who brought the presents, which, as usual, consisted of gold and silver, fine cotton cloths, plumes and other curiosities. The Ambassadors richly adorned with jewels, and attended by a numerous retinue, were received in the Senate house, where they made offers of peace and perpetual alliance, on condition of their declaring war against the *Spaniards*, and assisting them in their endeavours to extirpate those insolent strangers. Their speech was interrupted by the murmurs of the assembly, who were exasperated at the proposal. However, they were permitted to retire to the lodgings assigned them, till the Senate should deliberate upon the subject of the embassy, when it was unanimously agreed to reject their proposals. But the Ambassadors did not wait for a formal dismissal: for dreading lest some popular insurrection should be raised against them, they fled with great precipitation.

Notwithstanding the regard the *Tlascalans* upon this, and other occasions, shewed for the *Spaniards*, *Xicotencal* still hated and envied *Cortes*, and had hitherto disguised these dispositions under the masque of friendship. Though he did not so much as speak in the Senate, in behalf of the *Mexican* proposals, he took the opportunity of sowing jealousies among the people,

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by means of his friends, who privately magnified the advantages of an alliance with the *Mexicans*, and represented their friendship for the *Spaniards*, as a dangerous connection, that would entail slavery and oppression upon them and their posterity. The Senate were soon informed of these practices, and upon this occasion held a consultation, at which *Xicotencal's* father gave his opinion, that his son should suffer death, as a sower of sedition; but out of respect to the grey hairs and character of the father, they were unwilling to deprive him of life; they however ordered that he should be brought before them in chains, when they reproached him for his perfidious dealings; deprived him of all the honours he enjoyed, and caused him to be thrown down the stairs of the Senate-house. A few days after this degradation, *Xicotencal* implored forgiveness of *Cortes*, who did not know of his crime: till after the punishment was inflicted, and by his interposition in his behalf, he was restored to his former rank and honours.

Xicotencal now endeavoured to atone for his fault by his diligence in assembling the troops of the republic. Mean while the soldiers who came with *Narvaez*, being disgusted at the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, and intimidated at the thoughts of a new war, loudly exclaimed against the expedition to *Tepeaca*, and even delivered a formal protestation to *Cortes*, signifying their refusal to undertake that enterprise, and their desire to march immediately for *Vera Cruz*, where they might be nearer at hand

196 *The CONQUEST of MEXICO,*
to solicit reinforcement from *St. Domingo* and
Jamaica.

Cortes was greatly provoked at this insolent remonstrance; but thought proper to disguise his resentment, and to represent to them, that as the *Tepeacans* had seized the passes of the mountains, it was impossible for them to reach *Vera Cruz* without fighting them, in which he should be assisted by the *Tlascalan* troops, that were assembling for that purpose; but he assured them that as soon as those *Indians* should be subdued, they who were unwilling to follow his fortune, should have free leave to depart.

Cortes, having thus reconciled his troops to the service marched with 8000 choice *Tlascalans* commanded by officers of distinguished valour, and left the care of bringing up the rest to *Xicotencal*. Having proceeded three leagues they spent the night in a village abandoned by the enemy; and the next morning *Cortes* ordered some peasants, who had been taken by the advanced guard, to be brought before him, gave them some presents, and set them at liberty, on their promising to tell the Cacique of *Tepeaca* in his name, that he was come to revenge the death of the *Spaniards*, whom they had treacherously murdered, yet if they would join him and his allies against the *Mexicans*, he would pardon what was passed, and consider them as friends. With this message the *Indians* departed, and returned the next day with an answer, in which all terms of were peace rejected, and the *Spaniards* threatened with being carried to the altars of their Gods. The *Tepeacans* now took the field

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in order to stop their march, and formed an ambuscade in some fields of maize, which might have turned to their advantage, had not their impatience occasioned their being discovered by *Cortes*, when at a considerable distance. He however marched on as if he had not the least suspicion; but suddenly wheeling about, attacked them with great fury, and made a prodigious slaughter. The battle soon become general; but though the *Tepeacans* fought with great bravery, they were soon thrown into confusion, and being deserted by their *Mexican* allies, were totally routed, with the loss of almost their whole army. They therefore the same night sent deputies to implore the mercy of the conqueror.

The next day *Cortes* marched with his army, into the city, where the inhabitants threw themselves at his feet with marks of extreme fear. But upon his ordering his interpreters to proclaim King *Charles*, and a general pardon in the name of that Prince, their apprehensions were converted into joy, and they intreated *Cortes* to take their city into his protection, that they might never more be influenced by the *Mexicans* to renounce their treaty with the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* instantly took advantage of this request, fortified the city with palisadoes and a trench, and built a kind of citadel to keep them in obedience, and secure the passage to *Verá Cruz*. But before this work was begun, he sent all the prisoners who had been taken in the battle to *Tlascala*, where, by his direction, they were publicly sold for slaves.

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Some time after *Xicotencal* arrived with 35,000 more troops, when *Cortes*, in order to keep them employed, sent different detachments, under the conduct of *Spanish* officers, to reduce some parts of the province of *Tepaca*, from whence they returned victorious, after they had enriched themselves with a considerable booty, and a great number of captives, who were also sold for slaves.

Quetlavaca, Emperor of *Mexico*, dying about this time, the electors conferred the Imperial dignity upon *Quatimoxin*, son-in-law to *Moteczuma*, a young Prince of great sagacity, who immediately encouraged the soldiers with rewards and considerable privileges; treated his nobles with affability, and exempted his subjects from all tribute during the continuance of the war; made presents to the Caciques on his frontiers, in order to confirm them in their fidelity, and sent an army of 30,000 men for their support.

Cortes received an account of these transactions from some deputies from the Cacique of *Guacachula*, a populous and warlike city, situated in the road to *Mexico*, who came to complain of the tyranny of the *Mexicans*, and to implore the assistance of the *Spaniards* against them. As *Cortes* made no doubt of this Cacique's sincerity, and thought it highly necessary to expel the enemy from such an important place, he immediately formed a body of 30,000 *Tlascalans* with 300 *Spaniards*, and 13 horse, and the next morning sent this army with the envoys of *Guacachula*, under the command of *Chris-*

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toval de Olid, who was directed to repulse the enemy, and take possession of the town. They proceeded very chearfully for six leagues, when being about that distance from *Guacachula*, they were told by the peasants, that the Emperor of Mexico was marching against them with all his forces, and this report made such an impression upon *Narvaez's* soldiers, that they positively refused to proceed, and *De Olid* found it very difficult to prevail on them to break this resolution. This dispute was scarcely ended, when several bodies of armed men were seen advancing towards them from the mountains with great expedition. Upon which *De Olid* instantly drew up his people in order of battle. However some horse, which he had sent out for intelligence, soon informed him, that these *Indians* were commanded by the Cacique of *Guazocingo*, and some of his neighbours, whose dominions had been ravaged by the *Mexicans*, and who were coming to assist the *Spaniards*. The *Tlascalans* however suspected their motives, and persuaded the *Spaniards* that they were not to be trusted, as they were probably sent by the *Mexicans* in order to fall upon the *Spaniards* during the engagement. This opinion had such an effect upon *De Olid*, that he immediately caused the Caciques to be seized, and sent in irons to *Cortes*, who continued at *Tepeaca*. This inconsiderate action, however, produced no ill consequence, for as the *Indians* really came with a design to assist *Cortes*, they resolved to wait patiently for his determination, which they hoped would do justice to their sincerity, and

indeed they were not disappointed. *Cortes* appeared equally displeased, and concerned at seeing the *Caciques* in chains, and instantly ordered their fetters to be knocked off, received them in the most friendly manner, and made an apology for the rashness of his Captain, whom he promised to reprimand, and then set out with them in person to take the command of the troops.

Cortes no sooner arrived at the camp, than every thing like mutiny disappeared; he blamed *De Olid* for his inconsiderate behaviour, and joining his new allies marched directly towards *Guacachula*. The *Mexicans*, being informed of his motions, advanced between him and the city, and began the battle with great fury, when the *Caciques* of *Guacachula* taking advantage of this opportunity, fell suddenly upon the rear of the *Mexicans*, who in a little more than half an hour were intirely defeated. The *Spaniards* then entered the city, where they took up their quarters, while the *Tlascalans*, and the other confederates, whose number was continually increasing, staid without the wall, and many other *Caciques* joining them, *Cortes's* army, soon after the battle, amounted to 120,000 men.

Cortes now resolved to reduce *Yzucan*, a town naturally of great strength, fortified with walls and ravelins, defended in front by a river, and garrisoned with 10,000 *Mexicans*, who had broke down the bridge in order to dispute the passage. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, *De Olid*, who commanded the vanguard, attempted

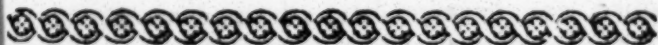
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tempted to cross the river, and though his horse was killed under him, and himself wounded in the thigh, he with his troops gained the opposite bank, and drove the enemy into the city, which they made a shew of defending; but the *Spaniards* had scarce received orders for the attack, when the cries of the enemy suddenly ceased; the garrison disappeared, and the city was forsaken by the inhabitants; but some of the fugitives, being brought back, were instantly discharged with the offer of a pardon and good treatment to all who should return to their houses, and this had such an effect, that the town was almost filled the same day. The spoil obtained in both these actions Cortes distributed among his new allies, and then returned with the *Tlascalans* to *Tepeaca*, where the fort and settlement was now compleated to which he gave the name of *Segura de la Frontera*.



C H A P. XV.

Several Ships arrive upon the Coast with Recruits from Velasquez, who all join Cortes. Deputation sent to the Court of Spain, to desire more Assistance. The Spaniards march towards Mexico. Cortes's Expedition against Tezeuco, where he sets up a new Cacique.

A SHIP arrived about this time at *St. Juan de Ulua*, with thirteen *Spanish* foldiers, some provisions and ammunition, and two horses, sent by *Diego de Velasquez* to *Narvaez*; under

the command of *Pedro de Barba*. *Pedro de Cavallero*, who commanded some troops on the coast, discovering this vessel, put off from shore in a boat, and saluted the new comers with great civility, when *Pedro de Barba* enquiring after *Narvaez*, he replied without hesitation, that he was well and in great prosperity; for all those countries had submitted to him, while *Cortes*, with a few of his followers, had fled to the mountains. *De Barba* being deceived by this intelligence, landed without distrust, and was conducted to *Vera Cruz*, where finding himself outwitted, he readily embraced *Cortes's* interest, and received the command of a company of Cross-bows. After which *Cortes* gained the affections of the soldiers, by making them presents, with which they were so pleased, that they readily enlisted in his service. He then read the letter intended for *Narvaez*, in which *Velasquez* promised to send him powerful succours, and ordered him to transport *Cortes* to *Cuba*, that he might be conveyed as a criminal to *Spain*, where the bishop of *Burgos* intended to make a public example of him in the most ignominious manner.

Eight days after a second ship arrived with eight soldiers more, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and the officer who commanded this vessel, being also trepanned by *Cavallero*, and sent to *Segura*, both he and his men also entered into the service of *Cortes*.

As the General was resolved to make a new attempt to conquer *Mexico*, he formed the scheme of building 12 or 13 brigantines, that should be able to resist the *Indian* canoes, in order to
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escape the danger of passing the causeways, and these he proposed to carry in pieces on the shoulders of the *Indian* carriers, over the mountains of *Tlascala*, to a river in the neighbourhood of the lake. This singular project he communicated to *Martin Lopez*, who not only approved of the design, but undertook to execute it with the utmost facility, and was therefore immediately sent to *Tlascala* with all the *Spanish* carpenters, and a number of *Indians* to cut wood. He at the same time employed many hands in extracting pitch from trees that grew upon the mountains, and sent others to the Volcano discovered by *Diego de Ordaz*, from whence they brought a large quantity of sulphur, which was made into gun-powder. These previous steps being taken, *Cortes* left instructions with the new council of *Segura*, and having appointed a commander of the garrison, which consisted of about twenty *Spanish* soldiers, set out for *Tlascala*.

It has been already observed that *Francisco de Garay*, governor of *Jamaica*, had sent to order *Cortes* not to make any settlement on this coast. But notwithstanding the disappointment he met with in having his messengers seized, he now resumed the enterprize, and sent three ships, but his soldiers had no sooner landed, than they were attacked with such fury by the *Indians*, that they were obliged to return to their ships in great disorder. His ships were afterwards separated for some days, when each of them severally formed the same design, and without knowing the sentiments of each other, arrived almost at the same instant on the coast of *Vera Cruz*, in order to serve under *Cortes*. The first ship

ship that made land had sixty *Spanish* soldiers on board, and was commanded by Captain *Camargo*; the second brought fifty men, and seven horses, under the command of a brave and experienced officer named *Miguel Diaz de Cruz*; and the third brought above 40 soldiers, ten horses. and great plenty of arms and provisions, and was commanded by Captain *Ramirez*.

These people took the road to *Tlascala*, and were received with joy by the General and his people: but notwithstanding the acquisition of strength, the soldiers brought by *Narvaez*, were still importunate for leave to return to the island of *Cuba*, and reminding *Cortes* of the promise he had made before they set out on the expedition to *Tepeaca*; he was now the more inclined to grant their request, for his having received this reinforcement of men, whom he imagined would be more obedient to his command. He therefore caused proclamation to be made that all who desired to return should be furnished with vessels and other necessaries. Upon which the greatest part of those who came with *Narvaez* seized this opportunity of returning to *Cuba*, among whom was *Andero de Duero*, who had been *Cortes's* particular friend.

Cortes, having directed *Alverado* to see these men embark, sent orders to the confederates to get ready to march on the first notice, and in the mean time resolved to equip a vessel, and send other agents to *Spain*, in order to forward the negotiations of *Portocarrero* and *Montejo*, and to desire them to send him an account of his interest at court, about which he

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was very anxious. For this purpose, he wrote a memorial to the King, which contained an account of all the incidents that had happened, from the time of his marching out of *Zempoalla*, till his retreat to *Tlascala*, with an account of the wealth, power and extent of the *Mexican Empire*, and the alliances he had concluded with the *Indian* nations, as the most proper means of bringing that vast and fertile country under the dominion of *Spain*. He desired speedy justice against the proceedings of *Diego de Velasquez* and *Francisco de Garay*, solicited succours of men, horses, arms, and ammunition; and besought his Majesty to send some ecclesiastics of approved virtue, to assist father *de Olmedo* in the conversion of the *Indians*. The two councils of *Vera Cruz* and *Segura* also wrote to his Majesty on these subjects.

Cortes intrusted these dispatches to the care of *Diego de Ordaz* and *Alonzo de Mendoza*, who a few days after embarked for *Spain*, after their having received private instructions to conceal their commission till they should find *Cortes's* father and the two agents, with whom they were to act in concert; and to give the greater weight to their joint solicitations, they carried a second present for the Emperor, * which consisted of gold and some curiosities. He at the same time dispatched *Alonzo Davila*, and *Francisco Alvarez Cibico* with letters to the regulars of *St. Jerome*, who presided in the royal audience of *St. Domingo*, and had jurisdiction over all the

Charles I. King of *Spain*, had some time before been raised to the imperial throne, and was the fifth Emperor of that name,

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islands and new discoveries on the main land, intreating their speedy assistance in promoting his success, and the interposition of their authority in putting a stop to the proceedings of *Velasquez* and *Garay*: and these fathers soon sent him a favourable answer, in which they promised to support the justice of his pretensions to the King of *Spain*, and to check all the efforts of his rivals.

After a prosperous voyage, *Ordaz* and *Mendoza* arrived at *Seville*, where they found the commissioners of trade had express orders from the bishop of *Burgos*, to imprison any one sent from *New Spain*, and to seize the gold and other merchandise brought from thence. Therefore leaving the present for the Emperor in the hands of those judges, they thought themselves happy in escaping with their letters and dispatches, and went in search of *Martin Cortes*, and the two agents, who had been before sent from *Mexico*. These persons they found at *Medellin*, and being afterwards encouraged by *Adriano* the Cardinal regent, to whom they shewed *Cortes's* letters, entered a prosecution against the bishop of *Burgos* in his own court, and obtained a verdict in their favour. This sentence being laid before the Emperor, who at this time was just returned from *Germany*, it was approved by his Majesty, and *Hernando Cortes* was declared a faithful subject; perpetual silence was ordered to be imposed on *Velasquez*, with respect to any pretensions to the conquest of *New Spain*, and he was only allowed to sue for the money he had expended in fitting out *Cortes's* fleet; several
marks

marks of the royal favour were bestowed on *Martin Cortes*, on account of his son's merit; some regulars were named for the conversion of the *Indians*, and a fleet was ordered to be speedily fitted out, with a supply of men, ammunition, and horses.

Cortes in the mean time received another unexpected supply of thirteen *Spanish* soldiers, who came in order to seek their fortunes, in a vessel that arrived at *Vera Cruz*, laden with arms, gunpowder, and provisions. He therefore resolved to begin his march, and as the troops of his allies were already assembled, he did not choose to wait till the brigantines were finished. It was agreed that their first attempt should be made upon *Texeuco*, which being in the road from *Tlascala*, and almost upon the borders of the lake, they resolved to fortify and maintain as a sure retreat, where they might be sheltered from all the accidents of war.

This resolution being taken, *Cortes* reviewed the *Spaniards*, who amounted to 540 soldiers, with 40 horse, and nine pieces of artillery, that were brought on shore from the ships. This review was made with great ostentation, in order to raise the admiration of the *Indians*, an innumerable concourse of whom were assembled to see the spectacle, and they were so delighted with the flying colours, and the dexterity of the soldiers in managing the horses, handling their arms, and saluting the general; that they filled the air with acclamations of applause. *Xicotencal*, at the head of 10,000 *Tlascalans*, complimented *Cortes*, by appearing in his gayest accoutrements,

trements, and performed the *Indian* exercise with equal pomp and agility. All his Captains being adorned with variegated feathers, and jewels hanging at their ears and lips, they carried their two handed swords under the left arm, with the point upwards, and each was attended by a page who bore his shield, on which was represented in figures his own war-like achievements.

Cortes, being sensible of the difficulty of governing an army composed of many different nations without strict discipline, formed several articles of war to be observed on pain of death, such, as that no man should draw his sword against another, either in their quarters, or upon the march. That a *Spaniard* should neither in word or action insult a confederate *Indian*. That no man should violate or abuse a woman, tho' belonging to the enemy. That no soldier should without leave quit the army to go and plunder, and that they should not play away their horses and arms. He also prohibited blasphemy, swearing, and other crimes, on pain of infamy, and degradation. These orders being interpreted to the commanders of the *Indian* troops, had a surprizing effect in reforming their discipline, and after a few examples had been made, they behaved with the utmost regularity and circumspection.

The General having settled these wise regulations, and every thing being ready for the march, he caused the *Spaniards* to be drawn up, and then made a speech, in which he exhorted them to behave with complacency to the poor *Indians*,
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who had so warmly espoused their interest, and declared his intention to punish offenders with all the rigour of military discipline; reminded them of the honour they had already acquired; represented the harvest of glory that lay before them, and protested that he would upon all occasions reward superior merit to the utmost of his ability and judgment.

After this speech, which was answered with loud acclamations, he, on the feast of *Innocents*, in the year 1520, put himself at the head of the army, which consisted of 60,000 men, and having before sun-set marched six leagues took up his quarters in *Texmeluca*, a town on the confines of *Mexico*, under the jurisdiction of *Guazocingo*, who had provided plenty of provisions for the whole army. The next day they proceeded with all possible precaution into the enemies country, and being informed that the *Mexicans* were assembled on the other side of a mountain, in the road to *Texcuco*, halted all night in the open fields, making large fires on account of the weather. Early in the morning they began to ascend the mountain, which was overgrown with wood: but having proceeded about a league, they found the way blocked up with trees, and sharp stakes fixed in the sand in order to wound the horses. However, these impediments were soon removed by a detachment of 2000 *Tlascalans*, and small parties were sent to guard against ambuscades. Having marched two leagues farther, they arrived at the summit of the mountain, from which they had a view of the great lake of *Mexico*, and saw fires successively kindled in the distant

towns, as signals of their approach. Then continuing their march till they got clear of the woods, they descried the enemy's army at a great distance. It filled a large plain, through which ran a river collected from the neighbouring hills, and over it was laid a small wooden-bridge, which was left as a decoy to the *Spaniards*, whom they intended to attack before they could form on the other side; but as *Cortes* advanced, their courage failed them, and they gradually retired from the pass, till part of the *Spaniards* had crossed the bridge, when 20 horse, and a body of *Tlascalans* being detached to keep them in play, they fled with great precipitation, and took shelter among the rocks and mountains, whither *Cortes* did not think fit to pursue them.

That evening the troops took up their quarters in a place within three leagues of *Texeuco*, and the next day continued their march, when they observed ten unarmed *Indians* hastening towards them with a plate of gold fastened to the top of a lance, as a signal of peace. These were Ambassadors from the Cacique of *Texeuco*, and came to beseech *Cortes* to spare his country, and to admit him into the number of his confederates. They let him know that he had provided good quarters for the *Spaniards* in the city, and that his allies would be supplied with all necessaries without the walls. Being examined in private, they told *Cortes* that the present Emperor had threatened their Prince with intolerable oppression, on account of his having refused to vote for him at his election, which had made him resolve to sue for his protection.

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This Prince was probably *Cacumazin*, who had been dispossessed by *Moteczuma*, and restored by the new Emperor on account of his inveteracy against the *Spaniards*. However this be, *Cortes* called a council of his officers, let them know the proposals he had received, and that he doubted the Cacique's sincerity. Upon which it was resolved to proceed with great precaution, and in the mean time to embrace, with seeming pleasure, the proffered alliance, in order to obtain a free entrance into the town, where they might continue upon their guard, and act as occasion should require. *Cortes* therefore dispatched the Ambassadors with thanks, and that night lodged in a village by the town, which was deserted by its inhabitants, a circumstance that increased the General's suspicion, especially as the Cacique did not come out to congratulate him upon his arrival. In the morning he was preparing to attack the town, when he found the gates open, and having entered without resistance, he advanced in order through the streets 'till he arrived at a large square in which he drew up the greatest part of his men, while the rest guarded the avenues. The inhabitants, who in several places appeared in crowds, had all the signs of fear, and as there was not a woman to be seen, the General made no doubt of their having formed some hostile design. He therefore dispatched several *Spanish* officers, and some *Tlascalans* to take possession of the chief temple, which being performed, they observed great numbers of the inhabitants flying, some to the mountains, and others in canoes to *Mexico*,

whither the Cacique himself had retired, attended by a few followers; for *Cortes* was soon informed, that the Cacique finding, on the return of his Ambassadors, how strongly *Cortes* was supported by his *Indian* allies, was afraid of putting in execution a scheme he had formed for letting the *Spaniards* into the city, where, being in full security, he thought they might be destroyed in one night by the *Mexicans*, whom he had promised to admit in the dark for that purpose. Upon receiving this intelligence, *Cortes* resolved to conciliate the affections of the people, by forbidding his soldiers, under the severest penalties, to commit the least outrage against the inhabitants. All the *Spaniards*, and part of the *Tlascalans*, he quartered in the Cacique's palace, while the rest, to prevent incommoding the people, lodged in the neighbouring streets without entering the houses.

The next morning some of the priests came with a petition in behalf of their Gods, to return thanks for the moderation with which they had been treated, and to desire permission for the nobles to come and make an offer of their obedience and friendship. This request being granted, they came in great formality, headed by a youth of a genteel mien, who told *Cortes*, that he came with his friends to serve in his army, and hoped they should deserve his protection; *Cortes* embraced the young man, and having received his followers with marks of respect, retired with them to a private apartment, in order to ask them some questions by means of his interpreters: when they let him know, that the

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the youth was son to the elder brother of *Cacumazin*, and heir to the crown, which that usurper had possessed, after murdering the lawful Sovereign, and that he had rendered himself odious by his tyranny and oppression. Upon hearing these circumstances, *Cortes* resolved to raise this young Prince to the throne, and the next day caused him to be crowned with great solemnity, when the people expressed their satisfaction by the loudest acclamations. In consequence of this revolution the city was soon re-peopled by the return of those families that had fled to the mountains; the *Mexicans* were declared the enemies of the city, and the *Spaniards* revered as its benefactors.



C H A P. XVI.

Cortes marches to the City of Iztapalapa, where he and his Army narrowly escape being drowned. The War with Mexico renewed. Several Brigatines, built by Cortes's Order at Zempoalla, brought in Pieces to Tezeuco in order to navigate the Lakes of Mexico. He takes several Towns, but is repulsed at Tacuba and his Army exposed to great Danger; whereupon he returns to Tezeuco.

CORTES in order to facilitate his enterprise upon *Mexico*, and to employ his *Indian* allies, now resolved to advance with part of his forces to the city of *Iztapalapa*, situated six
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leagues nearer *Mexico*, on the side of the causeway. He set out on this expedition with 300 *Spaniards*, and 10,000 *Tlascalans*, leaving the military government of *Texcoco* to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*. They began their march by the causeway, designing first to possess themselves of that part of the city which was built upon it, and to dislodge the inhabitants, with the artillery and fire arms, from the other part that was built on the lake. But they no sooner came within sight of *Ixtapalapa*, than they were opposed by a body of 8000 *Mexicans*, who fought with great bravery, and then retired into the city, where, without staying to defend the entrance, or shut up the gates, they threw themselves into the lake, and suddenly disappeared.

Cortes, finding that the gates were left open, entered the city, the higher part of which was entirely abandoned, and proposed to take up his quarters there for the night; but it no sooner began to grow dark, than the *Spaniards* perceived the canals overflow, and the water of the lake rushing with great impetuosity from a number of sluices, which obliged them to quit the place in the greatest hurry to prevent the whole army being drowned.

Cortes was extremely mortified at the success of this stratagem, and spent the night on a little rising ground, where the troops suffered by the wetness of their cloaths and the coldness of the weather, and at day break retreated towards *Texcoco*, making his men march as fast as possible to keep them warm: but they had not advanced far, when seeing themselves pursued by a vast
multitude

multitude of the enemy, they were obliged to face about in order to sustain their attack, which was very violent: the *Mexicans* however being soon repulsed with considerable loss, the army resumed their march; but notwithstanding this the enemy rally'd, and twice returned to the charge, by which they lost above 6000 men.

While *Cortes* continued at *Tezeuco*, many of the neighbouring Caciques came to enter into an alliance with him against the Emperor of *Mexico*, and among others, deputies arrived in great haste from the provinces of *Chalco* and *Otumba*, to solicit assistance against an army of *Mexicans*, that appeared upon their frontiers, in order to punish them for having entered into an alliance with the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* resolving to grant them immediate assistance, detached *Gonzalo de Sandoval* and *Francisco de Lugo* with 200 *Spaniards*, 15 horse, and a body of *Tlascalans*. These were attacked in their march by a body of *Mexicans*, who lay in ambuscade; but though they were easily routed, they afterwards assembled a formidable army in the road: however, *Sandoval* and *Lugo* being apprized of their design, advanced in great order, and though the *Mexicans* rushed upon them with great impetuosity, they met with so warm a reception from the fire-arms and cross-bows, as put them to a stand, when the horse advancing, were followed by the infantry and *Tlascalans*, who soon threw them into confusion, and being at the same time attacked in the rear by the troops of *Otumba* and *Chalco*, they were entirely defeated

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defeated with a terrible slaughter; and eight of the most considerable person in the army were taken prisoners. After which the *Spaniards* passed the night in the city of *Chalco*, where they were entertained with great hospitality; and as the *Chalquese*, had long been at enmity with the *Tlascalans*, the *Spanish* Captains seized this opportunity of proposing a peace between the two nations, which was afterwards confirmed by the Senate of *Tlascala*.

Sandoval and *Lugo*, having thus happily terminated this expedition, returned to *Texeuco*, when *Cortes* ordered the eight *Mexican* prisoners to be brought before him, and received them in the midst of his Captains with a look of great severity, while they had all the marks of terror and confusion, expecting the punishment they thought inevitable; but he let them know, that though it was in his power to make them suffer for the barbarous cruelties they had exercised on his people, he would convince them that the *Spaniards* were as much their superiors in generosity, as in value, and that he would grant them both life and liberty, if they would promise him to inform their Prince, that he was coming to demand satisfaction for their perfidiously attacking him in his retreat from *Mexico*, in direct opposition to the treaty which they themselves had proposed and confirmed. But principally to revenge *Motexuma's* death, and that his army being now augmented, he would in a short time seek the Emperor in the midst of his court, and lay the city of *Mexico* in ashes, unless he would sue for a peace, which should

should be granted on reasonable terms. He then ordered the prisoners to be unchained, and to have a boat to carry them to *Mexico* by water, at which they threw themselves at his feet, and promised not only to make the Emperor acquainted with what he said; but to use their utmost endeavours to procure an accommodation.

Martin Lopez about this time sent word to *Cortes* that the brigantines were finished, and that he would speedily set forward with them, the republic of *Tlascal* having provided 10,000 carriers, and 2000 to relieve those who should be tired, besides those appointed to carry the provisions and ammunition: but that he thought it adviseable to stay in the last town of the *Tlascalans* for a convoy of *Spaniards*, since it would not be safe to pass through the *Mexican* territories without any other force than that of the *Indian* allies.

This news filled the army with joy, and *Cortes* immediately gave orders to *Sandoval* to march with 200 *Spaniards*, 15 horse, and some companies of *Tlascalans* towards the territories of the republic, in order to conduct *Lopez* with his materials to *Texeuco*. This officer accordingly set out, but halted at *Zalepeque*, a small town that refused to submit, and was the very place where the *Spaniards* were murdered in their way from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, for which reason he had orders to chastise and reduce the inhabitants; but they no sooner perceived the detachment than they fled to the mountains; when *Sandoval*, entering the town, found written with charcoal

charcoal upon a wall; *In this house the unhappy Juan Justina was taken, with many others of his companions; and afterwards they found, in one of the temples, the heads of the Spaniards dried to preserve them from putrefaction.*

This dreadful fight filled the *Spaniards* with rage, and *Sandoval* resolved to punish the inhabitants with the utmost rigour. At this instant several companies that had been detached in pursuit of the fugitives, returned with a great number of men, women and children, after having killed upon the mountains all who refused to surrender. These poor creatures, half dead with fear, implored the mercy of the *Spaniards* by their tears and outcries, and soon moved them to compassion. *Sandoval* privately desired the officers to intercede in their behalf, that they might set the greater value upon their pardon, which he at length granted, and received the submission of the Cacique and principal citizens, who afterwards strictly adhered to the *Spaniards*.

The remains of the murdered *Spaniards* being decently interred, *Sandoval* continued his march to the frontiers of *Flascala*, where *Martin Lopez* received him with joy. He had with him a young officer called *Chichemecal*, who commanded the *Tlascalan* reinforcement, and had been with difficulty persuaded to wait for the *Spanish* detachment, he being extremely desirous of distinguishing himself against the *Mexicans*. The men having been allowed sufficient time for rest and refreshment, *Sandoval* prepared for marching back to *Texeuco*, when *Chichemecal*

chemecal took such umbrage at his being stationed in the rear, that he could scarcely be prevailed upon to proceed, till *Sandoval* proposed to march along with him. The vanguard consisted of part of the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* who came from *Texeuco*. The carriers marched rank and file with their burdens, and being properly secured on their flanks formed the main body, while the rear was brought up by the new reinforcement. In this order they marched through the *Mexican* territories, without being molested by the enemy, though different bodies of *Mexicans* frequently appeared on the distant hills. On their approaching *Texeuco*, they were met by *Cortes* and the Cacique of that city, and made their entrance into it, amidst the acclamations of the whole army, after which all the materials were separately stored in a large work-house prepared for that purpose near the canals.

Cortes, being informed that the vessels could not be finished in less than 20 days, resolved to engage in some enterprize, and therefore, leaving the government of *Texeuco* to *Sandoval*, put himself at the head of a detachment of 250 *Spanish* infantry, 20 horse, and a numerous body of the nobles of *Texeuco*; 15,000 *Tlascalans*, under the command of *Chichemecal*, and about 5000 commanded by *Xicotencal*; and began his march towards *Yaltocan*, a town five leagues from *Texeuco*, situated upon one of the small lakes that discharged themselves into the great lake of *Mexico*, resolving to chastise the inhabitants, for returning an insolent answer, and wounding the messengers he had sent to require
their

their obedience. He found the *Mexicans* drawn up in order of battle at a small distance from the town; but after the first discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows, the horse rushed in amongst them, put them into disorder, and they were soon entirely defeated, with a great slaughter, those who survived flying to the mountains.

After this victory, *Cortes* deferred making an assault upon the town 'till the next day. But the enterprize was found much more difficult than was imagined, for it was situated in the lake, and the bridge or causeway being broke down, it was entirely surrounded with water, whence it would have been impossible to have carried the place, had not *Cortes* been informed by one of the *Indians* of *Tezeuco* that a little higher the lake was fordable. He immediately ordered two companies of *Spaniards*, supported by a large number of the allies, to pass over, which they performed in spite of the enemy, who boldly defended the passage with their slings and arrows, and obliged every man to fight while he was up to the middle in water; but the *Mexicans* were no sooner driven from the shore, and observed the *Spaniards* drawing up in a plain near the town, than retiring with precipitation to their canoes, they left the place unguarded, upon which the *Spaniards* entered without opposition. The soldiers were allowed to plunder the town, in order to punish the inhabitants; but they had left very little behind them; however, some loads of corn and salt were transported to the army, with considerable quan-

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tities of cotton cloths, and some jewels, which had not been concealed; fire was then set to the principal temples, in order to strike terror into the fugitives; after which the army repassed the ford.

Cortes then continued his march, and found several towns situated upon the lake, that had been abandoned by the inhabitants, in each of which he lodged one night, in order to make observations, and afterwards retired without suffering any damage to be done to the buildings, to shew the *Indians* that he never used rigour, but when he met with resistance.

He now advanced towards *Tacuba*, a place of great importance, on account of its being nearer to *Mexico* than any of the other towns upon the lake; but he only designed to take a view of it in order to form some scheme for attacking it at a more convenient opportunity. Upon his approaching the town, he observed a vast multitude of the enemy, and in an instant they poured in upon him with their usual impetuosity; but after several ineffectual efforts they fled, and were pursued with great slaughter. The *Spaniards* passed the night in the field of battle, and the next morning were again assaulted by the enemy, who on their being once more routed, fled into *Tacuba*, and being closely pursued, some of the *Spaniards* and allies entered with them; and maintained the fight within the city, till night approaching, *Cortes* ordered them to be called back, and to set fire to the houses in order to employ the *Mexicans*, and give the *Spaniards* time to make their retreat.

Cortes staid five days in this place, during which he was frequently attacked by the *Indians*, who were always driven back to the city with great loss, whence he began to entertain hopes of carrying the town after the garrison should be wasted by these diurnal fallies. At length he observed a considerable body of *Mexicans*, advancing on the causeway, and having permitted a part of them to pass and draw up on the main land, he charged them with great fury, when after a faint resistance, they fled towards the causeway, and he following, fell into the snare they had laid for him; for his troops were no sooner crowded on this narrow pavement, than the *Mexicans* faced about, while innumerable canoes sailed out of *Mexico*, and invested both sides of the causeway, by which means the *Spaniards* were at the same time attacked in front, flank and rear. What rendered their situation still more dangerous, many of the *Mexicans* were armed with long spears, pointed with the swords they had taken from the unfortunate soldiers, who had been killed in their retreat from that city. In this emergency *Cortes* formed a front every way, made great havock among the enemy, and at length brought off his troops, many of whom were wounded, and a pair of colours in great danger of being taken.

Cortes being sensible of the difficulty of reducing *Tacuba*, returned to *Texcoco*, where he had the satisfaction of learning that a vessel was arrived at *Vera Cruz*, laden with a great quantity of arms and ammunition, with a person on board named *Julian de Alderete*, who came in the character

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master of the King's Treasurer, and some *Spanish* soldiers of distinction, who instantly marched to *Tlascala*, where they obtained an escort which conducted them to *Tezeuco*.



C H A P. XVII.

Sandoval obtains three Victories over a Mexican Army. Cortes marches to Suchimilco ; makes an unsuccessful Attempt to scale a Mountain defended by the Mexicans ; defeats a Mexican Army ; obtains a second Victory before Suchimilco, and takes that City, where he narrowly escapes being carried Prisoner to Mexico.

ABOUT this time the Caciques of *Chalco* and *Thumanalco* sending messengers to *Cortes* to desire his assistance against a powerful army of *Mexicans*, he ordered *Sandoval* to march with a body of forces to their relief. The *Mexicans* had fortified themselves in some hollow ways, where they were secured from being attacked by the horse, whence *Sandoval*, with great difficulty, dislodged them. They however rallied upon the plain, where they again soon gave way, and dispersed ; but the *Spaniards* pursuing them, made such a terrible slaughter, that the greatest part of them were cut to pieces.

Immediately after, *Sandoval* being informed that a body of 14 or 15,000 *Mexicans* were advancing towards him, the troops were called in from the pursuit, and being again ranged in order of battle, marched to meet them ; but these fresh

forces, being soon routed, fled in great confusion to the town of *Guaſtateque*; the *Spaniards* entered the place at the ſame time, and dividing into ſeveral ſtreets, drove out the enemy with a terrible ſlaughter. *Sandoval* allowed the ſoldiers to plunder the place, but ſoon after the Cacique and principal inhabitants making their ſubmiſſion, *Sandoval* took them into his protection.

The next day, *Sandoval* being informed that the *Mexicans*, who had eſcaped from the two laſt engagements, had rendezvoused at *Capiflan*, he marched immediately to that town, which was ſituated on the top of a high rock, whence the *Mexicans*, truſting to their ſituation, exaſperated the *Spaniards* by their reproaches. *Sandoval* ordered the troops of *Chalco* and *Tlaſcala* to advance, on account of their being accuſtomed to thoſe rugged paſſes; but they did not obey him with their uſual alacrity, till he obſerving their backwardneſs, began to mount the rocks at the head of the *Spaniards*, when his example animated them to ſuch a degree, that they clambered up with ſurpriſing intrepidity. The *Mexicans* ſeeing this retired with marks of deſpondence into the town, but were afterwards driven out to the very edge of the precipice, and all who did not throw themſelves down, were put to the ſword.

Sandoval in theſe three engagements deſtroyed the *Mexican* army to a man. However, the Emperor ordered a new army to march, over whom the *Chalqueſe*, after a deſperate action, obtained a compleat victory.

Cortes

Cortes now resolved to penetrate in person as far as *Suchimilco*, a town upon the lake, with a broad causeway, which joined those that led to *Mexico*, and this was a seasonable relief to the *Chalquefe*, who had discovered a new army of *Mexicans* on that side. The confederate *Caciques* were already assembled in the city of *Chalco*, when *Cortes* unexpectedly arrived, and filled the city with joy and gratitude. That General being then told by the *Indian* scouts, that the *Mexicans* had taken possession of some almost inaccessible mountains on the road to *Suchimilco*, marched directly to a town which he found deserted by its inhabitants, and in which he spent the night. The next morning he entered the mountainous country by a narrow and difficult path; while the *Mexicans* shewed themselves from the tops of the eminences on each side. The army marched till they arrived at an opening. There *Cortes* ordered the men to attack a considerable fortress, where the enemy appeared in great numbers; and without waiting to chuse the least difficult path, commanded *Pedro de Barba* and *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* to begin the attack. The *Mexicans* at first retired in seeming confusion; but when the *Spaniards* had mounted to the most dangerous part of the precipice, they suddenly returned with hideous outcries, and rolled down large stones, which bore down every thing in their way. *Cortes* then seeing the impossibility of succeeding, gave orders for their retreat, upon

which they retired with the loss of four *Spaniards* killed, and a number of them wounded.

Cortes now ordered the army to march, and in order to allure the *Mexicans*, laid open his flanks, and then suddenly turned short upon them, but was unable to do them much damage on account of the swiftness of their flight, and the thickness of the woods. Those above at the same time abandoned their fortification, and followed at a distance. *Cortes* having proceeded a league and a half farther, perceived another fortress garrisoned by the enemy; but not chusing to attack it, he encamped near a forsaken village. The General the next morning taking a view of the enemy's post, perceived an eminence within musket shot, which the *Mexicans* had neglected to occupy; but which was immediately seized by *Alderete* and *Verdugo Barba*, with the musketeers, who made such a successful fire, that the *Mexicans*, filled with terror, fled to the distant parts of the country.

Cortes now marched to *Guaſtapeque*: but before he reached it, the Cacique with the principal inhabitants invited him and the rest of the *Spaniards* to lodge there, to which he readily consented. They had however but little time to enjoy the pleasures of this place, for the General being informed that the enemy had halted at *Quailawata*, to dispute his passage over a hollow way filled with water, ordered the army to march thither. The passage seemed impracticable; but *Cortes* charged the enemy with the fire-arms and arrows, and ordered two or three bridges to be made of long trees, which being
laid

laid across the Chasm, afforded a passage for the infantry, which the *Mexicans* seeing, attacked those who had passed over with such fury that they could hardly stand their ground, and were in the most imminent danger, when *Cortes*, *Alverado*, *Olid*, and *Tapia*, came to their assistance with the horse, who, together with some *Tlascalans*, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that they were immediately disordered, routed, and pursued to the mountains with great slaughter.

Early the next morning *Cortes* marched towards *Suchimilco*; the first day they went through a defile three leagues long, and at night took up their quarters in some houses near the road. At day break they proceeded on their march, and perceived the *Mexicans* drawn up in a plain, with a large and rapid river in the front. *Cortes* extended the troops of the allies along the bank of the river, and while both sides made some discharges at each other with little effect, commanded the *Spaniards* to take the bridge that was between them; but they met with such an obstinate resistance, that they were twice repulsed. However, returning the third time, they gained the pass, which so discouraged the *Mexicans* that they began to fly in great disorder.

The *Spaniards* instantly formed upon the ground the *Mexicans* had quitted, and being joined by several bodies of the allies who had swam over the river, advanced towards the *Mexicans* who had halted near the city, and fell upon

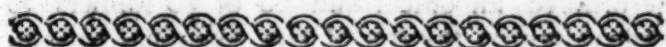
upon them with such resolution as they were entering the gates, that they made a very great slaughter. *Cortes* then leaving part of his troops to secure a retreat, entered with the fugitives, and ordering some companies to force the barricadoes in the streets on the right and left, advanced to the principal avenues, where the enemy had their greatest force. This he with some difficulty surmounted, and rushed forwards into a multitude of the enemy, but instantly finding himself surrounded, and his retreat cut off, he supported himself for some time, till his horse falling, he was in extreme danger, and nothing saved him, but the great desire of the *Mexicans* to seize him alive for a present to the Emperor; but before they could carry him off, *Christoval de Olea*, a common soldier of distinguished bravery, seeing his distress, and calling to some *Tlascalans*, who were fighting near him, put himself at their head, and forced his way to the place with such resolution, that he killed the *Mexicans* who had seized *Cortes*; and he having thus recovered his liberty with only two slight wounds, pushed the enemy so vigorously, that they fled to that part of the city which was built in the water, and left the *Spaniards* masters of all the streets upon the firm land.

The troops without the gates were in the mean while warmly attacked by a body of 10,000 *Mexicans*, who fought for some time with great obstinacy, but were at length glad to return with considerable loss.

This success made *Cortes* master of all the streets and buildings on the firm land, and having

ing placed sufficient guards by the water side, he ordered an officer and 20 or 30 soldiers to keep watch on the top of the principal temple. Near the close of the evening they discovered about 2000 armed canoes advancing with great speed from *Mexico*, upon which the guards at the landing places were immediately doubled, and in the morning about 15,000 of the enemy landed at a considerable distance from the city. *Cortes* immediately marched out and charged them with such impetuosity, that they were routed at the first attack, and the whole action appeared rather a chase than a victory.

Cortes having continued four days at *Suchimilco*, retired in good order, with the satisfaction of having accomplished the end of his expedition, by taking a view of that city and weakening the force of the enemy; he was however inwardly dissatisfied at his having lost nine or ten *Spaniards* in this expedition. For besides those who were killed in attempting to scale the mountains, three or four were taken alive, while they were pillaging one of the houses at *Suchimilco*, and two of his servants fell into an ambuscade, by imprudently separating from the army.



C H A P. XVIII.

The Brigantines got ready for sailing on the Lake. A Plot to assassinate the General and his principal Officers discovered. Xicotencal leaves Cortes, to return Home, but is pursued and killed. The Brigantines launched upon the Lake, and attacked by 4000 Canoes, most of which are destroyed. An Attack made upon the three Causeways at once, in which the Spaniards are seasonably relieved by the Brigantines; these clear the Lake of the Mexicans, who afterwards invent several Stratagems to destroy the Spaniards.

SOON after Cortes's return to Tezeuco, a soldier who had been long in the service, came to him with marks of fear and concern, and desired a private audience, which being granted, he gave him all the particulars of a conspiracy that had been formed in his absence. The chief contriver of this treacherous design was a private soldier named *Antonio de Villafana*, who disliking the enterprize against *Mexico*, blamed the General for his pursuit of that conquest, accusing him of obstinacy and rashness. Finding that his fellow soldiers listened to his insinuations, he expressed a desire of relinquishing the enterprize, and returning to *Cuba*; but as it was impossible to do this without Cortes's consent, he, after having sufficiently sounded his confederates, proposed

posed to them a scheme for assassinating the General and all his principal officers, except *Francisco Verdugo*, who had married the sister of *Diego Velasquez*, and upon him they proposed to confer the chief command, which would give a kind of sanction to the mutiny, and be highly agreeable to the Governor of *Cuba*; but as they knew *Verdugo* to be a man of honour, they durst not acquaint him with their design. In short the affair was managed with such dexterity that the numbers of the conspirators daily increased, and it was at length agreed, to feign a packet from *Vera Cruz* with letters from *Spain*, and to give it the General when he was at table: that they should all go in together under the pretence of hearing the news, and while *Cortes* was reading the first letter, they were to make use of that opportunity to murder him and all his friends with their daggers.

The general having received this intelligence went immediately, with two Alcades and some of his Captains, to *Villafana's* quarters, where he found him with three or four of his accomplices, and having put him in irons, and ordered every body to retire, while he examined him in private, he took out of the wretch's bosom a paper signed by all the conspirators, in which he found some names that greatly increased his concern; but concealing the paper from his friends, he ordered the soldiers, who were found with *Villafana* to be put into another prison, and then withdrew, directing the officers of justice to proceed in his trial with all possible dispatch, without taking notice of any of his accom-

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complices, and *Villafana* being condemned to die, was the next morning seen hanging at the window of his own lodging, so that his guilt and punishment were made public at the same time. But this being no time to satisfy justice with the lives of so many persons, *Cortes* pretended that *Villafana* had swallowed a paper which he believed contained the names of the conspirators, and then assembling his Captains and soldiers gave them a summary account of the design against his life, and the lives of many present; said that he thought himself happy in not knowing *Villafana's* accomplices, and intreated his friends to enquire whether the *Spaniards* had any complaint to make against his proceedings, because he was above all things desirous of giving entire satisfaction to his soldiers, and was ready to correct his own faults. At the same time he ordered the soldiers, who had been taken with *Villafana*, to be set at liberty, and behaved to the rest of the conspirators as usual, so that thinking him ignorant of their crime they afterwards served him with extraordinary circumspection, in order to avert any suspicion of their fidelity. He however seized this opportunity of having twelve men, commanded by an officer, to guard his person.

Cortes was a few days after perplexed with another affair that gave him no small disturbance. *Xicotencal*, having conceived some disgust at *Cortes*, resolved to leave the army, and having assembled some companies of *Tlascalans* who were attached to his interest, retired in the night, of which *Cortes* being informed, sent af-

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ter him some noble *Indians* of *Tezeuco*, to persuade him to return ; but *Xicotencal's* answer so provoked the General, that he dispatched three companies of *Spaniards*, with an additional force of *Indians*, with orders to take him prisoner, or to kill him in case of resistance. As he defended himself to the last, it was impracticable to take him alive, and he no sooner fell than his soldiers, who fought with reluctance, readily submitted and returned to *Tezeuco*, leaving their General hanging on a tree.

The brigantines being now ready, *Cortes* ordered them to be launched and rigged, and then reviewed the *Spaniards*, who amounted to 900 men, near 200 of whom used fire-arms and cross-bows, the rest were armed with swords, bucklers, and lances. He had also 86 horse, and 18 pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. He then ordered, on board each vessel, 20 *Spaniards* under the command of a Captain, with twelve rowers and one piece of artillery.

Cortes resolving to take possession at the same time of the three principal causeways : the expedition of *Tacuba* was intrusted to *Alverado*, who had 150 *Spanish* foot, 30 horse, 30,000 *Tlascalans*, and two pieces of cannon. The attack of the causeway called *Ixtapalapa* was committed to *Sandoval*, who commanded 150 *Spaniards*, 24 horse, two pieces of artillery, and all the troops of *Chalco*, *Cholula*, and *Guacocingo*, amounting to above 40,000 men, and the attempt upon *Cuyocan* another of them was assigned to *De*

Olid, with 160 *Spaniards*, two pieces of cannon, and 30,000 confederate *Indians*.

Alverado and *Olid* marched together as far as *Tacuba*, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, as were all the towns upon the lake, who were gone to defend *Mexico*. The two *Spanish* Captains had notice that the *Mexicans* had formed a considerable body within half a league of the city to cover the aqueducts that supplied it with fresh water. Upon this intelligence they marched thither, and after a very obstinate battle, drove the enemy from their post; broke the aqueducts, and by this means effectually cut off their water.

Olid then marched to *Cuyocan* the other causeway; and *Cortes* having allowed *Sandoval* time to reach *Ixtapalapa*, embarked with the Cacique of *Tezeuco* and his brother, and took upon himself the command of the lake, after having left a sufficient number of troops to cover his place of arms, and secure a communication with his quarters. His thirteen brigantines being drawn up in a line, and adorned with flags and streamers, he approached *Mexico*, and then sailing back observed a pretty large castle, situated upon a small island which the enemy thought impregnable. *Cortes* landed here with 150 *Spaniards*, and drove the enemy, who made a brave defence, into the castle, where they were so crowded, that having no room to manage their arms, they were obliged to surrender. The *Spaniards* then returned to their brigantines, in order to steer towards *Ixtapalapa* to assist *Sandoval*, when they observed

observed a fleet of 4000 canoes assembling on the lake. *Cortes* drew up his vessels in the form of an half-moon, and advanced towards the canoes, when a breeze of wind suddenly springing up, they began the attack at a distance with the artillery, and then making use of their sails, ran in among the canoes with such force as over-set all that stood in their way, while their fire-arms and cross-bows made a terrible slaughter. The nobles of *Mexico*, who had manned the 500 canoes in the front, made some opposition; but most of these being destroyed, the rest were thrown into such confusion, that they run foul of each other, so that the greatest part of them over-set, when the brigantines, pursuing the miserable remains of this fleet with their cannon shot, forced them to take shelter in the canals of the city of *Mexico*.

Cortes passed the night near *Texeuco*, and in the morning was preparing to sail to *Ixtapalapa*, when he discovered a great number of canoes making towards *Cuyocan*, and following them, found *De Olid* engaged on the causeway with the enemy who defended it, and at the same time with the canoes on each side, against each of whom being obliged to make a front, he was hardly able to keep the ground he had gained. The *Mexicans* had drawn up the bridges on the causeways towards the city, and mounting on them in ranks, charged from the top. The *Spaniards*, were obliged to clear these places of defence with their cross-bows, while fascines were brought to fill the ditch; but a piece of artillery being brought up, it soon cleared the passages.

De Olid had just made himself master of the first ditch when the canoes arrived; but at the sight of the brigantines all the *Mexicans* fled with precipitation: and the canoes on the other side, as soon as three brigantines had got thro' a wide passage, retired in disorder, towards the city.

The troops passed the night upon the causeway, and in the morning proceeded on their march with little or no opposition, 'till they approached the last bridge, which they found fortified with strong works, and the trenches that were cut in the streets were defended by a vast multitude of people. The artillery from the brigantines made a dreadful slaughter of them, while *De Olid* having ruined the fortification of the causeway, and filled up the ditch, charged the *Mexicans* who had defended them; and *Cortes* landing with 30 *Spaniards*, gave such life to the attack, that the enemy quickly turned their backs, and the chief street of *Mexico* was gained. The fugitives however took possession of a temple near the entrance of the city, and from this post they defied the *Spaniards*; but *Cortes* ordering three or four pieces of cannon to be landed, they were soon made sensible of their danger, and all that part of the city was forsaken; the next day *Cortes* retired along the causeway to *Cuyocan*, guarded on each side by his brigantines, so that the enemy durst not disturb his march.

Cortes then proceeded to *Ixtapalapa*, where he found *Sandoval* reduced to the last extremity. He had taken possession of the buildings on the land, and had made great havock among those who

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who approached in their canoes; he had demolished some houses, and overthrown two or three reinforcements from *Mexico* sent to attack him by land; and that day the *Indians* having abandoned a large building, he resolved to seize it, in order to enlarge his quarters. This scheme he effected, by forming a passage with fascines, but he had no sooner entered the house with some of his people, than a great number of canoes which had lain in ambush, advanced with a multitude of *Mexicans*, who threw themselves into the water, and dragging away the fascines, cut off his retreat, by which means he was besieged on all sides, while the enemy discharged their arrows at him and his men, from all the terraces and windows of the neighbouring houses. He was in this distress when *Cortes* arrived, and observing the vast number of canoes in the water streets, advanced with all possible speed, and played his artillery with such success, that the enemy fled in great confusion. The loss of the *Mexicans* upon this occasion was very great.

Cortes now resolved to quit the post he was in, and to dispatch *Sandoval* to *Tapeaquilla*, where there was another causeway, the possession whereof would effectually cut off the enemy's provisions, of which they already began to be in want. *Sandoval* advancing, and finding the place forsaken, lodged himself in it without resistance. The General then sailed to *Tacuba* to visit *Alvaredo*, who had met with various success: for though the place was deserted at his approach, he had, like *De Olid*, been obliged to beat down works, and to fill up ditches.

Cortes now resolved to put a stop to all operations by land, till he had made himself master of the lake: for this purpose he prevailed on the allied towns to send a vast number of canoes manned by the most expert *Indians*, who with the brigantines sailing continually about the lake, and along the three causeways, afforded them an opportunity of taking many canoes loaded with provisions and water, which reduced the besieged to great distress.

The *Mexicans* now sent canoes to clear the ditches, and made sallies in the night only to alarm the enemies, and fatigue them by want of sleep; that they might afterwards attack them with the advantage of fresh troops. They also built large piraguas strengthened with planks, in which they sheltered themselves from the shot in time of engagement. In these they came out in the night, and lay in ambush behind a grove of reeds in the lake, which effectually concealed them from view: and designing to draw thither the brigantines that cruized about the lake by two at a time, they provided three or four canoes laden with provisions for a bait, and fixed a considerable number of large stakes in the water to destroy or incumber the brigantines.

The next day, as they expected, two of the brigantines that attended *Sandoval* began their cruize, when the *Mexicans* sent out their canoes, which as soon as they were seen, pretended to fly and retire among the reeds, and the brigantines giving chase, fell in among the stakes, where they were so embarrassed, that they could
neither

neither move forwards nor backwards. At the same instant the piraguas came out and attacked them on all sides with such fury, that the *Spaniards* must have infallibly perished, had not some expert swimmers cut away the stakes with hatchets, and in the mean while they kept such a fire upon the enemy, that almost all the piraguas were sunk; but this victory was not obtained before the brigantines had received great damage.

Cortes however resolved to turn this stratagem against the enemy, and being some time after informed that the *Mexicans* had concealed themselves a second time among the reeds, he ordered six brigantines to steer off in the night, and lie in ambush among another parcel of reeds, at a small distance from the enemy's ambuscade. In the morning one of the brigantines began her cruize, and discovering the piraguas as if by accident, stood off immediately, and pretended to fly towards the place of the counter ambuscade, when she was instantly pursued by the piraguas, till being at a convenient distance, the other brigantines sallied out, and gave them such a terrible salute with their great guns, that at the very first discharge they were almost all sunk, and most of the men perished.



C H A P. XIX.

Cortes offers a Peace to the Emperor, but his Priests prevent his accepting it. Upon which Cortes makes a general Attack, and after an obstinate Engagement is defeated. He afterwards renews the Attack, makes a Lodgment, and obliges the Emperor to retire to the farthest Part of the City. The Emperor and his Consort are seized in an Attempt to escape, and the whole Empire of Mexico acknowledges their Subjection to Spain. Cortes extends his Conquests to the South-Sea, rebuilds Mexico, and dies in Spain.

CORTES being informed that the besieged began to want provisions, exerted his utmost diligence in cutting off all relief from the city, and in the mean time dismissed two *Mexican* noblemen, with a message to the Emperor *Guatimozin* with overtures of peace. Upon which the Emperor was advised to agree to the General's proposals. This favourable disposition was however destroyed by the remonstrances of the priests; insomuch that *Guatimozin* himself declared that, to whatever distress the city should be reduced, he would put the first man to death, who should from thenceforward mention peace.

Cortes was no sooner informed of this, than he resolved to carry fire and sword into the city; and for that purpose sent orders to the commanders of the troops of *Tacuba* and *Tapeaquilla*, while he himself

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self marched by the causeway of *Cuyocan* at the head of the troops commanded by *De Olid*. All obstacles were soon removed, and the troops advanced without any considerable opposition to the last bridge, where the *Indians* had broke down part of the causeway to enlarge the ditch; and on the opposite bank they had raised a fortification covered with planks; it was however soon destroyed by the artillery, and the enemy retired into the city. Thus the shore being left free, *Cortes* ordered his men to land immediately, and to take on shore the horse and three pieces of cannon, but before he advanced into the streets he gave orders to *Julian de Alderete* to stay behind, and fill up the ditch, while the brigantines were to approach the scene of action by the great canals, and to fire upon the enemy. But *Alderete* no sooner heard them engaged, than thinking his employment dishonourable, he rushed forwards to have a share in the battle, leaving the care of filling up the ditch to another officer, who also abandoned it for the same reason. The *Mexicans* stood the first charge, and behaved with great bravery, doing the *Spaniards* considerable damage from the windows and tops of the houses. But suddenly, in the heat of the engagement, they quitted the ground, for *Guatimozin* being informed that the great ditch was abandoned resolved to fall upon the *Spaniards* in their retreat.

Cortes suspected their intent, and having barely time to return to his quarters before night, began his retreat, after having set fire to several houses, from which he had sustained some damage. The *Spaniards* had scarce began to march back,

back, before they were attacked on all sides by an incredible number of chosen warriors, who fought with such intrepidity, that they disregarded both the fire-arms and cross-bows. *Cortes* being informed that the retreat was hindered by the ditch, endeavoured to form his battalions; but could not, because the confederates, being in the front, were the first who arrived at the ditch, and had thrown themselves into it with such confusion, that they were destroyed by the *Mexicans*, who either wounded or drowned them. The General was now left with his people to maintain the fight; when his horse being killed under him, Captain *Francisco de Gaxman* alighted to give him his, and was taken prisoner, without a possibility of being rescued. At length however *Cortes* got to the brigantines, and returned to his quarters, wounded, and extremely mortified at his defeat, above 40 *Spaniards* being taken prisoners. Upwards of 1000 *Tlascalans* were killed; one piece of cannon was lost, and of the *Spaniards* scarce one escaped unwounded.

Alverado and *Sandoval* entered the city by different ways at the same time with *Cortes*, and met with nearly the same success, but they did not lose above 20 *Spaniards*.

The *Mexicans* celebrated the victory with great rejoicings, and were so elevated with their good fortune, that a little before break of day they advanced by the three causeways, to beat up the quarters, to set fire to the brigantines, and to compleat the destruction of the *Spaniards*. But the latter were well prepared to receive them; they were repulsed by the artillery of the brigantines, and some pieces mounted at the *Spanish* lodgments, which play'd upon the causeways. The

The next day *Guatimozin* caused a report to be spread, that *Cortes* was killed. However, his allies soon recovered their fright, fresh succours came in, and several nations that had hitherto continued neuter, being sensible of the distress of *Mexico*, declared for the *Spaniards*. So that in a few days, *Cortes* found himself at the head of above 200,000 men. The *Mexicans* in the mean time were not idle, but frequently attacked the quarters both by day and night, though they were always repulsed with loss. The city was now in the greatest distress for want of bread and water, which induced the General to proceed to action, and as he had suffered so much in retreating, it was agreed that the commander of each body of *Spaniards* should endeavour to stay in that part of the city into which he should penetrate.

This plan being approved, *Alverado* and *Sandoval* began their march by day-break from *Tacuba* to *Tapeaquilla*: *Cortes* advanced from *Cuyoacan* with a body of troops commanded by *Olid*; while the brigantines and canoes were distributed so as to support the three attacks. All the difficulties were surmounted as usual, and the three Captains entering the city much about the same time, fortified themselves with the ruins of the houses.

This new method of proceeding filled the *Mexicans* with consternation, and entirely broke all their measures. A council was immediately summoned at *Guatimozin's* palace; where it was resolved to dislodge the *Spaniards*, and their army being divided into three bodies advanced to
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the attack, at break of day; but preparations having been made for their reception, they no sooner approached, than the artillery began to play upon the avenues, and made such a terrible slaughter of the van-guard, that they durst not proceed; when the *Spaniards* rushed upon them, they were soon routed and dispersed, by which means they obtained better quarters for the ensuing night. The *Spaniards* that continued were obliged, as they advanced, to destroy houses, level works, and fill up the trenches cut across every street, and notwithstanding these obstructions, all the three leaders in less than four days came in sight of the principal square in the city where they had agreed to meet. *Alverado* arrived first at this spacious square, which was called *Tlatel-leuco*, where he found the enemy endeavouring to make a stand, but he fell upon them with such resolution, that they immediately abandoned the ground, and retired in great confusion to the streets on the opposite side. Observing at a small distance a very large temple, the towers of which were possessed by the enemy, he immediately detached some companies to drive them from thence, in order to secure his rear, which was performed with very little opposition. He was soon after joined by *Cortes* and *Olid*, who advanced by a different avenue, driving a confused throng of *Mexicans* before them into the square, who falling in upon the battalion, which *Alverado* had drawn up in order of battle, and being attacked on every side, were most of them cut to pieces. The same miserable fate attended those

those who were driven into the square, by the third division under the command of *Sandoval*.

The enemy perceiving that the whole force of the *Spaniards* was united, now ran with the utmost precipitation to defend the person of their Prince, by which means *Cortes* had an opportunity of lodging his troops to the best advantage. The next morning all the streets in possession of the enemy were filled with armed men, in order to cover those who were raising a kind of fortification, but as they did not proceed to hostilities, *Cortes* suspended the attack he had meditated, and resolved to try once more, whether they were disposed to an accommodation, now they saw him so advantageously posted. He therefore sent a message to *Guatimozin*, who had retired with his ministers and the nobility to a spacious angle of the city, the greatest part of which was defended by the lake.

A suspension of arms being agreed upon, *Guatimozin* held several councils, to deliberate on the overtures of peace, and the majority were for agreeing to the treaty; while others were for continuing the war, who being joined by the Priests, it was resolved to prosecute it. In the mean time the Emperor gave orders that all the piraguas and canoes should retire to a bay, in order to secure his retreat in case he should be driven to extremities. *Cortes* immediately suspected their design, and therefore appointed *Sandoval* commander in chief of all the brigantines, with orders to surround the bay at a distance, and to keep a strict watch upon the enemy's motions.

Cortes having taken these steps, advanced with his troops, which the *Mexicans* perceiving, prepared for an engagement. But they no sooner observed the terrible havock made by the first discharge of the cannon on their wooden fortifications, than they sent notice of it to *Guatimozin*, and in a little time demanded a parley; upon which four *Mexicans*, who seemed persons of distinction, appeared on the farther side of a ditch, and informed *Cortes* that they were appointed to receive his proposals, but the General desired that the Emperor himself would come to treat in person, and in the mean time a stop should be put to all acts of hostility. With this answer the Ambassadors retired, and word was brought that the Emperor would come the next day to conclude a treaty, but he put off his coming for several days.

However, the day being come, which was the utmost period allowed by *Cortes*, *Sandoval* discovered, before the sun arose, great multitudes embarking on board the canoes in the bay, and these attacked the brigantines with great fury, without being terrified at the havock made among them by the artillery.

In the hottest part of the engagement *Sandoval* observed six or seven piraguas rowing with the utmost speed from the farthest part of the bay, upon which he ordered a brigantine to give them chase. The Captain soon came up with the foremost piragua, which seemed to command the rest, when the *Mexicans* instantly ceased rowing; and desired him not to fire, because

because the Emperor was on board. The Captain with other *Spaniards* immediately leaped into the piragua, to secure their prize. Upon which *Guatimozin* said, "I am your prisoner, and ready to go whither you think fit to conduct me. All the favour I have to ask is, that some regard may be paid to the honour of the Empress my consort, and her female attendants." *Guatimozin* then passing into the brigantine, gave his hand to that Princess to help her up the side. The Captain had no sooner made *Guatimozin* prisoner, than he dispatched a canoe to *Cortes* with an account of his success, and all military operations ceased soon after*.

Cortes sent two companies of *Spaniards* to the landing place to guard the royal prisoners, whom he received with great respect, which the Emperor returned in the same manner. On their arrival at the *Spanish* quarters, *Guatimozin* and his Empress went in first. When *Cortes*, to alleviate their sorrow, told him, that he was prisoner to one of the most powerful Monarchs in the universe, from whose clemency he might hope to regain not only his liberty, but even his Empire, and that till the pleasure of his Sovereign should be known, he should be treated with all the respect due to the Emperor of *Mexico*.

Cortes thinking it was still necessary to reduce that part of the city which was in the ene-

* This great event happened on the 13th of *August*, 1521, and from thence has been dated the dominion of the *Spaniards* over the *Mexican* Empire.

my's possession, left the care of his prisoners to *Sandoval*, and went out to give orders for another attack. But *Guatimozin* suspecting the cause of his abrupt departure, desired to speak with him, and upon his returning back, conjured him to spare his unhappy subjects, who would surrender peaceably as soon as they were informed of his captivity. He therefore intreated *Cortes* to allow one of his Ministers to accompany him, and command the *Mexicans*, in their Prince's name, to obey the *Spanish* General, which order they no sooner heard, than they threw down their arms and submitted.

Cortes's troops no sooner took possession of the places evacuated by the *Mexicans*, than they found themselves surrounded with objects of horror, a vast number of miserable wretches, of the sick and wounded were lying calling upon death to release them from their tortures, and whole houses, and courts, were filled with the bodies of persons of distinction who had been slain in battle, and were kept till their funerals could be performed, and from these places proceeded a stench that threatened the air with infection, and obliged *Cortes* to take immediate care to prevent a pestilence, by giving orders for interring the bodies. While this necessary office was performed, he retired with his prisoners to *Cuyocan*, after his having assigned quarters to *Al-verado* and *Sandoval*, who superintended the cleansing of *Mexico*, and this disagreeable duty being in a few days performed, he returned again to the city.



*The Emperor Quatimozin, and the Empress
seized on board a Piragua by Sandoval.*

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The respect with which the Emperor *Guatimozin* was treated did not last long, for the soldiers remembering the vast quantities of gold they had formerly seen in *Motexuma's* possession, demanded an account of what was become of it. When *Cortes* protesting his ignorance, they suggested that he had secretly secured it for his own use. Hence they grew furious and insolent, in which disposition they were encouraged by *Julian de Alderete*, the King's Treasurer, who had great authority, and was nephew to the bishop of *Burgos* was inclined to do *Cortes* all the mischief in his power. *Alderete* being unable to obtain an account of these treasures, demanded that the Emperor and his first minister should be put into his hands, in order to be examined about them, which *Cortes* in his present circumstances did not care to refuse.

This inhuman monster, according to some authors, caused them to be immediately put upon the rack; but as others with greater truth affirm, had them extended upon burning coals. When they were both in this situation, the minister casting his eyes upon the Emperor cried out violently, upon which *Guatimozin* with great composure said, *Do you think I lie here upon roses?* At which the poor man was so struck, that he expired without uttering any further complaint: but *Cortes* hearing his first cries burst into the apartment, and released the Emperor before it was too late; upon which occasion the soldiers themselves approved his conduct, and blamed the Treasurer's barbarity. No discovery was however made by this instance of cruelty. They then

then searched all parts of the lake to no purpose, ransacked the temples, in which they found but little gold, and tore to pieces the tombs in which a small quantity was found, which *Cortes*, in order to pacify them, divided amongst them.

Those provinces of the *Mexican Empire* that were nearest the capital immediately submitted, and *Cortes* having received intelligence of the kingdom of *Mechoacan*, which lay to the westward of *Mexico*, he sent *Montano* with three other *Spaniards* as Ambassadors to the King, who at first gave them an indifferent reception; but afterwards treated them with great magnificence, and even went in person to see *Cortes*, who soon after dispatched *Christopher de Olid* with an army to take possession of that country, which he accordingly did, and forced the King to fly for shelter into the mountains.

Cortes upon this great flow of success, lost that humanity and virtue by which he had before distinguished himself, discovering the utmost haughtiness and cruelty. He erected forts, and sent *Sandoval* to subdue the countries near *Tabasco* and *Tecountepe* on the North sea, while he sent *De Alverado* with a body of *Spaniards* and confederate *Indians*, to take possession of the countries bordering upon the vale of *Guaxaco* to the eastward of *Mexico*.

While *Cortes* was thus employed in reducing an amazing extent of country to the obedience of *Charles V.* Emperor and King of *Spain*, *Christoval de Tapia* arrived at *Vera Cruz*, with a commission from that Prince to command all the new conquests; but he was so threatened, and
terrified

terrified by the garrison of *Vera Cruz*, that he was glad to make his escape, and leave the General in possession of *Mexico*.

Cortes now marched in person into the province of *Panuco*, which he not only reduced to subjection, but had the inhumanity, in violation of the laws of nature and nations, to divide the country and all the *Indian* inhabitants amongst the officers and soldiers, who treated them as slaves, and this was his practice in every province, whether the people voluntarily submitted to him, or were compelled to it by force: but he sent such rich presents to the Emperor, that notwithstanding his cruelty, he was declared Captain-General and Governor of *New Spain*, and the Governors of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba* were commanded to send him supplies, and to give him all possible assistance.

Cortes now finding himself established in his command, set about rebuilding the city of *Mexico*; assigned places for erecting churches and public edifices; laid out market places; divided the best part of the ground among the *Spaniards*, and the rest among the natives.

All his conquests could not however procure him a peaceable establishment. He was in danger from the intrigues of the *Indians*, who, from a love of liberty, were desirous of recovering their country, and driving out or extirpating the *Spaniards*, and therefore in 1527, he hanged the Emperor *Guatimozin*, and two other *Indian* Princes, whom he had detected in a conspiracy against him. Sometimes he was exposed to danger, by his own countrymen: *Christoval de Olid*, who had behaved so gallantly in the war
against

against the *Mexicans*, revolted from him; but was soon taken off by a violent death. Several conspiracies were formed to murder him; he had also many enemies in *Spain* who took such pains to prejudice the Emperor *Charles V.* against him, that he found it necessary to return thither, in order to justify his conduct.

Accordingly in 1528, he undertook that voyage, and was received by *Charles V.* with great respect: that Prince gave him the whole vale of *Atrisco*, with the towns and villages upon it; conferred on him the title of Marquis of the vale of *Guaxaca*, and to compleat his favours, procured him a very honourable marriage.

The next year he returned to *Mexico* with his lady, and afterwards being involved in some disputes with the Viceroy of *Mexico*, he, in the year 1542, made a second voyage to *Spain*, where he died in a village near *Seville* called *Castilleja de la Cuesta*, on the 2d of *December* 1554, in the 63d year of his age, after which his corpse, by his own direction, was carried to *New Spain*.

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

